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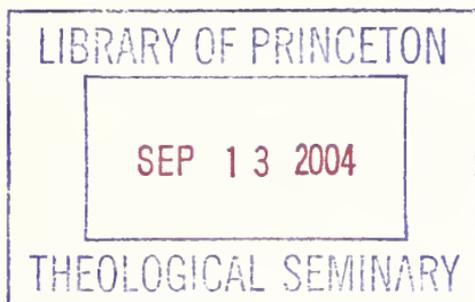
TEXTS RELATING TO  
SAINT MÊNA OF EGYPT AND  
CANONS OF NICAËA  
IN A NUBIAN DIALECT

WITH FACSIMILE

EDITED BY

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IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM



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## PREFACE

IN this volume is published a facsimile of the Oriental MS. 6805 in the Department of Oriental Printed Books and MSS. containing texts, written in a Nubian dialect akin to the modern Nûba, which relate to Saint Mêna, an Egyptian soldier who suffered martyrdom in Phrygia early in the fourth century, and to certain of the Canons of Nicaea. The MS. is one of the very few extant books of the ancient Church of the Sûdân. The texts in it are complete and are of supreme importance for the study of the Nubian language.

In the Introduction the principal facts in the history of the rise, progress, development, and decay of Christianity in the northern Sûdân are narrated, and the text and translation of a very ancient Ethiopic version of the life and martyrdom and miracles of Saint Mêna are added. This version contains several important details describing the growth of the cult of Saint Mêna in Egypt, which are not found in the Greek and Arabic versions.

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DEPARTMENT OF EGYPTIAN AND ASSYRIAN ANTIQUITIES,  
BRITISH MUSEUM.

*April 27, 1909.*



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### II. NUBIAN TEXTS. 36 PLATES.



## INTRODUCTION

### I. THE NUBIAN MS. ORIENTAL 6805, AND THE CHURCH IN THE SÛDÂN

THIS important manuscript, of which a facsimile is given in the present volume, is written in letters, the greater number of which are Greek, and in a language which is not akin either to that of the ancient Egyptian hieroglyphics, or to its later representative, Coptic. It is, however, at present impossible to describe its exact relationship to the ancient languages of North and East Africa. The Greek words which occur in the two texts contained in the manuscript prove that their subject-matter is Christian in character. One text is a work dealing with the Life of Saint Mêna, or Mînâs, and the other appears to be a rendering of certain of the Canons of Nicaea. We are therefore driven to conclude that the language in which the manuscript is written is one of those native African dialects used by the Nubian Christians of the northern Sûdân. The manuscript is in fact one of the very few remains<sup>1</sup> of the literature of the Church of Nubia, and linguistically is of the greatest value.

<sup>1</sup> Portions of two manuscripts written in the same dialect, now at Berlin, have been described by Schäfer and Schmidt in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Royal Prussian Academy, No. XLIII, 1906, and No. XXXI, 1907.

It is uncertain at what period Christianity entered Nubia<sup>1</sup>, and by what means its introduction was effected. There is little doubt that many Egyptian Christians fled from the persecutions of Trajan (98–117), Decius (250), Valerian (253–260), Diocletian (284–305), and Maximinus (305–311), into Nubia, where they settled on the islands in the Nile, and among the rocks on both sides of the Valley of the Nile. According to Gregory Bar-Hebraeus<sup>2</sup> Christianity had in the reign of Constantine penetrated all Egypt, the Sûdân, and Abyssinia, and had made its way so far to the south in the Sûdân as the Blue Nile.

The conversion of the Nubians as a nation to Christianity took place about the middle of the sixth century, the first Christian king of the northern Sûdân being Silko, who established his throne in the city of Old Dongola, about 100 miles from Napata, at the foot of the Fourth Cataract. Silko, who in his inscription<sup>3</sup> at Kalábshah styles himself the *Βασιλίσκος* of the Nobadae and of all the Ethiopians<sup>4</sup>, fought against the Blemmyes, i. e. the Bega, or Baja, tribes who had settlements on the Nile, and beat them several times, and after his fifth fight he occupied their cities from Tafa

<sup>1</sup> See Vansleben, *Histoire de l'Église d'Alexandrie*, Paris, 1577, chapter x; and Quatremère, *Mémoires Géographiques*, tom. ii, Paris, 1811, pp. 52 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Historia Dynastarum*, text, p. 135.

<sup>3</sup> See Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, VI. 95, and Dittenberger, *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones*, I. 303.

<sup>4</sup> i. e. the Nubians of the northern Sûdân, for he cannot have ruled Abyssinia.

(Taphis) to Ibrim (Primis). Soon after he had thus made himself master of Nubia the Emperor Justinian (527-565) ordered Narses the Pers-Armenian to go to Philae and to put an end to the worship of Isis, which still flourished there in spite of the Edict of Theodosius I against paganism. Narses carried out his instructions<sup>1</sup> with thoroughness, for he seized the priests of Isis and Osiris and cast them into prison, confiscated the revenues of the great temple of Isis on behalf of his master, and carried off the statues of the gods, which were of precious metal, to Constantinople. These events took place about 563, probably as the result of an arrangement made with Silko by Justinian, for such high-handed proceedings could hardly have been carried out unless the Nubian king and his subjects consented. According to Gregory Bar-Hebraeus<sup>2</sup> this arrangement was made by the Empress Theodora, who sent a special envoy called Julian to convert the Nubians. This envoy, by the help of the Duke of the Thebaïd, arrived in Nubia before the bishop who had been sent by her husband to convert the Nubians, and succeeded in baptizing the king and his nobles, and 'converted all the Kushites to the orthodox faith'. Henceforward the Nubian Christians became subjects of the throne of Alexandria. Julian on his departure left the Nubian Church in the care of Theodore, bishop of Philae, who turned a part of the temple of Isis into a church, and

<sup>1</sup> Procopius, *De Bello Persico*, I. xix. 59, 60.

<sup>2</sup> *Eccles. Hist.*, ed. Abbeloos and Lamy, I. col. 220 ff.

covered the walls with a coating of plaster to hide the figures of the gods of the Egyptians<sup>1</sup>.

The Nubian Church grew and flourished, and enjoyed peace until after the conquest of Egypt by the Arabs. In 652 the Muslim leader marched with an army to Dongola, captured the city, and imposed upon the Christians the annual tribute known as the 'Baḳṭ', which originally consisted of 360 healthy slaves, men and women<sup>2</sup>. The Baḳṭ was paid with more or less regularity until 1275, when Dâwûd, king of Nubia, broke faith with the Muslims, who promptly invaded the northern Sûdân and annexed it. From this time the decline of the Nubian Church was rapid, for the victorious Arabs made many Christians embrace Islâm, the intermarriage of Muslims and Christians became common, and finally, chiefly through the internal dissensions which ensued, the Nubian Church came to an end about 1350. The growing power of the Arabs hemmed in the Nubian Christian kingdom on the north, east, and west, and the whole population apostatized and embraced Islâm.

The Christian kingdom of the Sûdân was divided into two parts, viz. northern and southern. The former was called Muḳurrah, and its capital was Dongola; the latter was called 'Alwa'<sup>3</sup>, and its capital was Sôba, or Sûba, a city on the right bank of the Blue Nile, a few miles above Khurṭûm

<sup>1</sup> Letronne, *Hist. du Christianisme*, p. 80.

<sup>2</sup> Poole, *Middle Ages*, p. 21; Burckhardt, *Travels*, p. 511.

<sup>3</sup> ʾALUT of the hieroglyphics 

(Kharṭūm). The Muslim writer Salim al-Aswānī states that the king of 'Alwa was greater than the governor of Muḩurrah, and had a larger army, and that his country was more extensive and more fertile than that of Muḩurrah. He had great flocks of sheep and goats, herds of cattle, fine horses, and bulls of a red colour. His religion was that of the Jacobite Christians, and the bishops were appointed by the Patriarch of Alexandria. Their books were in the Greek tongue, and they were translated into the language of the country. Salim adds, 'The understanding of these people is inferior to that of the Nūbas.' Another well-informed writer, Abū Ṣāliḩ, states<sup>1</sup> that the kingdom of 'Alwa was large, and consisted of vast provinces wherein were four hundred churches. It is said that in the sixteenth century there were still standing in the country one hundred and fifty churches which contained crucifixes and pictures of the Virgin Mary painted on the walls, all of them being old<sup>2</sup>.

The Christian kingdom of the Sūdān occupied that portion of the Nile Valley which extended from Tafa on the north to 'Alwa on the Blue Nile in the south, and its towns and churches were established chiefly on the river banks and on the islands in the Nile. In the northern part of the kingdom, from very early times to the conquest of Egypt by the Arabs in 640, the languages most

<sup>1</sup> Edited by Evetts, p. 263.

<sup>2</sup> A. J. Butler in Evetts's *Abū Ṣāliḩ*, p. 264.

commonly spoken by the tribes on the right bank of the Nile belonged to the Hamitic family, whilst those spoken by the peoples on the left bank belonged to the Nûba group, which to-day includes the languages of the Negroid Dinkas, Shilluks or Shullas, the Bongos, and the Bâri. The Nûba language was probably spoken by the natives on the west bank of the Nile, from the First Cataract to Kôrdôfân. Though the northern Sûdân was conquered and annexed by the Egyptians so far back as the XIIth dynasty, and though its peoples were subject to them for two thousand years, there is no evidence to show that the natives adopted the Egyptian language generally. The civilization of Egypt, however, exercised a lasting influence on them as regards their manners and customs. For several hundreds of years after they had established independent native kingdoms at Napata and Meroë, they buried their dead under pyramids, like the Pharaohs of the Ancient Empire, and worshipped Egyptian gods, e. g. Râ, Osiris, Khnemu, Anubis, Isis, Nephthys, &c. Moreover, they employed Egyptian hieroglyphics in the inscriptions with which they covered the walls of their temples and funerary chapels. To many of the hieroglyphics, however, they assigned new values, just as the scribes of the Ptolemaïc Period did in Egypt. Owing to the researches of Birch<sup>1</sup>, Brugsch, Reinisch<sup>2</sup>, and Erman<sup>3</sup>, several of these values

<sup>1</sup> *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, 1868, pp. 61 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 1877, vol. XXV, pp. 1 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 1881, vol. XIX, p. 112 ff., 1897, vol. XXXV, pp. 153 ff.

have been recovered, and Reinisch proved that some of the words deciphered by Brugsch were identical in sound and meaning with words in the modern Nūba language.

Besides the hieroglyphic system of writing the Nubians also possessed a native system of writing, a fact fully proved by the mass of inscriptions collected by Lepsius<sup>1</sup> from the temples and other monuments which exist between Aswān and the Blue Nile, and to this writing, chiefly for convenience' sake, the name 'Meroïtic' is now generally given. The Meroïtic characters have not yet been deciphered, and authorities differ in describing their origin, but some of them resemble rudely cut forms of the characters which subsequently developed into the syllabic signs of Ethiopic. Good examples of Meroïtic writing in lapidary form are to be seen on the two stone altars which are exhibited in the Southern Egyptian Gallery in the British Museum (Bay 30, Nos. 1050 and 1051). About the *ancient* name of the Meroïtic character there is some doubt. Lepsius called attention<sup>2</sup> to the list of kinds of writing possessed by the Hamitic peoples given by Eutychius, Patriarch of Alexandria about 930, and by a manuscript in the Berlin Museum. According to Eutychius they were six in number, viz.: 1. Miṣrî; 2. Nūbî; 3. Habeshî; 4. Firengis; 5. Finikes; 6. Kanḳelî; and according to the Berlin MS. there were six, viz.: 1. Kūbtî; 2. Habeshî;

<sup>1</sup> See the *Denkmäler*, Abth. VI.

<sup>2</sup> *Nubische Grammatik*, Berlin, 1880, p. cxxi.

3. Nûbî; 4. Kîlikî; 5. Filestîni; 6. Kûbalî. In the latter list Kubtî is undoubtedly Coptic, Habeshî is Ethiopic, Nûbî is Nubian, Filestîni is some form of Palestinian writing, and Kûbalî is probably, as Lepsius supposed, a form of writing in use among the Kaba'il, or 'Tribes'. No. 4 writing, Kîlikî, is unidentified. Lepsius thought that it was the writing which was in use in the Christian kingdom of 'Alwa, to the south of Meroë, and that he had obtained specimens of it in two inscriptions which he acquired for the Royal Museum in Berlin<sup>1</sup>. This writing is similar to Coptic, with certain additional characters. The question is one of considerable difficulty owing to the lack of facts, but it is possible that Nûbî was the name for the writing commonly used in the northern half of the Nubian Christian kingdom, and Kîlikî for that in use in the southern half, in fact, that there were two distinct kinds of writing just as there were two distinct dialects of the language.

Until what date the native system or systems of writing continued to be used in the northern Sûdân is uncertain, but it can hardly have been later than the beginning of the sixth century. The inscription of Silko, which is in the Greek language and is written in Greek characters, was made about 550, and these facts indicate that no unimportant section of the population must have understood Greek. The mere use of Greek in a royal, historical inscription of the kind proves that among the

<sup>1</sup> Published in his *Denkmäler*, VI, Bl. 12.

northern Nubians at least that language had supplanted the native tongue. There is good reason for thinking that the knowledge of Greek in the northern Sūdān is older than has been commonly supposed, and that the translations of Greek works into the Nubian language were made direct from Greek and not from Coptic. The Nubian king Ārq-Āmen, the Ergamenes of Diodorus (iii. 6), was educated at Alexandria in accordance with Hellenistic ideas by Ptolemy Philadelphus, and the influence of Hellenistic art is visible in all the temples and other buildings which may still be seen at 'Amara, Gebel Barkal, Meroë, Nagaa, and in the Wādī Maṣawwârāt built by his successors. In early Christian times Greek must have been well known by some of the monks who settled in and about Aswān, and in the sixth century it was probably as well known as Coptic in great religious houses like those described by Palladius.

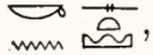
Reference has already been made to the statement of Salīm al-Aswānī that the books of the Nubians were in the Greek tongue, and were translated into the language of the country, and he is supported by Abū Ṣāliḥ, who says<sup>1</sup> that 'the land of Nubia is under the jurisdiction of the see of Saint Mark the Evangelist, which consecrates [their bishops] for them; and their liturgy and prayers are in Greek'. This proves, as Mr. A. J. Butler has pointed out<sup>2</sup>, that Christianity was introduced

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Evetts, p. 274.

<sup>2</sup> In *Abū Ṣāliḥ*, ed. Evetts, p. 272.

among the Nubians before the translation of the Egyptian liturgy into Coptic. That this liturgy was originally in Greek is proved by the Greek sentences which are still preserved in the midst of the Coptic versions, and by the existence of the Greek liturgy of Saint Mark, which is apparently the original of the Coptic St. Cyril.

None of the above-mentioned writers, however, affords the least clue as to the class of languages to which 'the language of the country' belonged, and among modern authorities opinions differ. According to Brugsch<sup>1</sup>, it was one of the languages of the Nūba group, but there seems to be little doubt that one of the dialects of the Bega, or Hamitic, group was spoken in the northern Nubian kingdom, especially in and about Talmis, the modern Kalābshah, which for some period before 550 was one of the strongholds of the Blemmyes. The chief dialects of the modern Nubian language are four in number, and are as follows :

1. The dialect spoken between the First Cataract and Korosko, which is called in Arabic *lisān al-Kanūz* ; it is descended, probably, from the language spoken by the Nūba tribe which Diocletian induced to leave the Oasis of Khārgah and settle in northern Nubia about the end of the third century. *Kanz*, or *Kanuz*, is derived from KENSET, , the ancient Egyptian name for northern Nubia. The people of the district are called in Nubian *Mattoki*.

2. The dialect spoken at Korosko, and for several

<sup>1</sup> *Ägyptische Zeitschrift*, 1877, vol. XXV, pp. 1 ff., 75 ff.

miles to the north and south of that place. Arabic has been spoken at Korosko for many centuries, a result due to the caravans which travelled from Morocco and other places in the west to the gold mines in the northern Atbai and to the kingdom of Sennaar via Abū Ḥamed. The people between Korosko and Ḥalfah are called in Nubian *Saidokki*.

3. The dialect of Maḥass, which is spoken throughout the provinces of Ḥalfah, the Baṭn al-Ḥagar, Sukkôt, and Maḥass, and upstream to Hannek and Bādīn Island. The Maḥassī dialect was formerly called 'al-Mārīsī'. The natives of the province of Sukkôt have been nicknamed 'Fadiji', i. e. 'the dying ones'<sup>1</sup>.

4. The dialect called 'Dongolâwī', or the dialect of Dongola, which is spoken from Kermah, at the head of the Third Cataract, to Ambükôl, and through the Arab province of Dâr Shaikīyah. It is said that a native of Dongola cannot understand the speech of a man of Maḥass.

The principal works on the Nubian language to be consulted in connexion with the British Museum MSS. are: 1. Reinisch's *Die Nuba-Sprache* in two volumes, Vienna, 1879. The first volume contains a grammar of the language with a set of pieces for reading in the Kanûzī, Dongolâwī, Fadiji, and Maḥassī dialects, and a fine collection of proverbs; the second contains Nubian-German and German-Nubian vocabularies. 2. Lepsius's *Nubische Gram-*

<sup>1</sup> For the origin of the nickname see Reinisch, *Die Nuba-Sprache*, I, p. 180.

*matik*, Berlin, 1880, which contains a translation into Nubian of the Gospel of Saint Mark, and a series of Nubian songs, with Nubian-German and German-Nubian vocabularies. The Nubian version of Saint Mark's Gospel was reprinted, with modifications, by the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1885, and issued under the title 'Inǧīl Yesū el-Messīhnilin, markosin fāyisīn nagitta'. A transcript from this edition into Arabic characters was published in Cairo in 1906<sup>1</sup>. 3. The papers by Drs. Schäfer and Schmidt, published in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences, entitled *Die ersten Bruchstücke christlicher Literatur in altnubischer Sprache* (1906, XLIII), and *Die altnubischen christlichen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin* (1907, XXXI).

<sup>1</sup> انجيل يسوع المسيح لن مرقس فايسين نقثا . مصر ل سنة ١٩٠٦

## II. DESCRIPTION OF THE MS. ORIENTAL 6805

This manuscript was found by nomad Arabs, with portions of two or three others of the same class and several Coptic vellum manuscripts, in a rough stone coffer which was buried in the mountains near Edfu in Upper Egypt, some three or four years ago, and was purchased by the Trustees of the British Museum in 1908. It measures about  $6\frac{1}{8}$  in. by 4 in. and consists of eighteen leaves; the greater portion of the last leaf has been cut away. The quires are three in number, and are unsigned, and each contains six leaves; they are bound in thin but strong covers formed of two or three layers of brownish leather pasted together. The outer margins of several of the leaves are worm-eaten, and in a few places the text has disappeared; one leaf was torn in ancient days, and was repaired by sewing. The first seventeen pages are numbered with letters, and the remainder are unnumbered. Each inscribed page contains one column of writing of from twelve to eighteen lines.

The manuscript contains two distinct works, the titles of which, as well as the  $\alpha$  and  $\omega$  above them, are written in red. Above the title of the first work is a narrow band of basket-work ornament in black, which resembles the decoration of initial pages in certain Coptic manuscripts, and on the top

margin are three linear designs in red and black, each of which encloses the letter †.

The handwriting of the first half of the manuscript is uniform, bold, and clear, and though the letters are somewhat thick they are carefully formed throughout; on Fol. 2*b* is a large initial letter. In the second half the writing is less regular, the letters are thinner, and the scribe appears to have used a fine-pointed reed.

On Fol. 10*a* is an illustration in which, traced in outline, we have a representation of Saint Mēna, **ⲁⲓⲥⲟⲥ ⲙⲉⲛⲁ**, on horseback. He wears a tunic, belt, and cloak, parts of which are decorated with a braided bordering, and holds in his right hand a long-shafted spear, the head of which is turned towards the ground. It may be noted that the end of the spear-shaft is not in the form of a cross, as is usually the case in Coptic pictures of military saints on horseback, e. g. those of Saint Theodore and Saint Victor<sup>1</sup>. Above his head are three crowns, the one in the centre being surmounted by a cross, which somewhat resembles the Coptic cross; these crowns are referred to on p. 47. To the right, at the foot of the page, is the figure of a bearded man grasping the left forehoof of the saint's horse with his right hand. The lower margin of the leaf is worm-eaten, and a portion of the figure is wanting.

To assign an exact date to the manuscript is

<sup>1</sup> See Hyvernat, *Album de Paléographie Copte*, Paris, 1888, Plates 16, 17.

impossible, but it was probably written in the ninth or tenth century.

The greater number of the letters employed in the manuscript are Greek, and in form and character resemble those found in Coptic MSS. The letters α, ς, ρ, ε, η, ι, κ, λ, μ, ν, ο, π, ϕ, ς, τ, υ, ω are of common occurrence, and there are several examples of αυ, ει, ευ, ου, and δ̄, αϊ, ἱα, ἱε, ἱου, ἱη, οἶδα (Fol. 5 *b*, l. 8), &c. The letters β, ζ, θ, φ, χ, and ψ only appear in Greek words and names, or in Graecized forms of words and names from other languages, e. g.

αββα Fol. 16 *b*, l. 13.

αλεξανδρε Fol. 1 *b*, l. 7.

αππα θελκασ (proper name?) Fol. 15 *b*, l. 13.

παρθενος Fol. 6 *a*, l. 4.

μαριαμαθεςῖ Fol. 15 *b*, l. 13.

μαρωθωνῶ Fol. 8 *b*, l. 7.

φιλοζενι, φιλοζενη Fol. 3 *a*, l. 6; *b*, l. 7;  
Fol. 4 *b*, l. 14.

χριστιανος Fol. 2 *a*, l. 12.

ψαλ Fol. 15 *b*, ll. 9 and 10.

Besides the Greek letters the following are found :

ϣ, which probably has the value of sh, as in Coptic. See

ωϣϣακ Fol. 16 *b*, l. 3; Fol. 17 *a*, l. 6.

παϣϣι Fol. 17 *a*, l. 13.

ϑ, which probably has the value of h, as in Coptic. See

ϑαρει Fol. 11 *a*, ll. 6 and 12.



### III. THE CONTENTS OF THE MANUSCRIPT

The language in which the manuscript is written is, at present, unknown, but the Greek words that occur in it make it certain that the subject-matter is Christian in character; the forms in which these words are found are as follows:

χριστος Fol. 1*b*; ἰησοῦς χριστος Fol. 17*b*, l. 12.

μαρτυρος Fol. 1*b*.

χριστιανος Fol. 2*a*; Fol. 4*a*; Fol. 9*a*.

φιλοζειν Fol. 3*a* and *b*; φιλοζειν Fol. 4*b*.

ελληνος Fol. 3*b*.

λαβена (?) Fol. 4*b*.

кентρον (?) Fol. 5*b*.

παρθενος Fol. 6*a*.

τριδακτον Fol. 6*a*.

αγιος Fol. 6*a*.

ὠθηνῶ, with Coptic optative μαρε (?) Fol. 8*b*.

αρτος Fol. 10*b*.

προς Fol. 10*b*.

ἱερος Fol. 11*a*; ἱερος Fol. 11*a*.

αποστολο . . . . Fol. 15*b*.

εθαυσελ . . . . Fol. 15*b*.

ψαλ . . . . Fol. 15*b*.

μαθε, with Coptic optative μαρι (?) Fol. 15*b*.

σταυρος Fol. 16*a*.

Hebrew words and names appear in Graecized forms, e. g.

ἀειηκ = אֵיִן Fol. 1 *b*, Fol. 18 *a*, &c.

ἀλλιλοσῖα } = אֵלֵלֵהּ Fol. 15 *b*, l. 9.

ἀλλοσῖα } Fol. 15 *b*, l. 12.

οοσσανα } = אֵזְעֵהּ, in the phrase οοσσανα

οτσανα } κτριάκεν οτκοτρ'

οσαννα } Foll. 5 *b*, 6 *a*; Fol. 11 *a*.

μαριά } = אֵרִים Fol. 6 *a*, l. 5; *b*, l. 7.

μαριαν } = אֵרִים Fol. 6 *a*, l. 5; *b*, l. 7.

ἱεροσαλληενα = אֵשְׁרֵי Fol. 16 *b*, l. 8.

αππα } = אֵן (אֵן) Fol. 16 *a*, l. 10 (αππα ἱεροσ-

αββα } αἰος), and Fol. 16 *b*, l. 13.

σατανα = אֵשְׁ Fol. 14 *b*, l. 8.

There is no reason why the texts in the manuscript should not have been translated direct from Greek originals, but, in view of such forms as μαρεώθεώ and μαριμαθε, if μαρε and μαρι do really represent the Coptic optative, they may have been translated from Coptic. That the Nubians were well acquainted with the Coptic and Syrian systems of writing, as well as the Greek, is evident from the *Kitāb al-Fihrist*<sup>1</sup>, and Nubian Christianity must, after all, have resembled

<sup>1</sup> See *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, Leipzig, 1872, tom. i, p. 19. The author of this work was born between 913 and 936, and was called Ibn Abi Ya'qūb an-Nadīm. In his chapter on the writings in use in the Sūdān he says that the Bega peoples have a writing and a literature of their own, and adds that the Nūba peoples write in Siryāni, Rūmī (Greek), and Kūbṭī characters.

closely that of Egypt. The monasteries and religious houses of Nubia were copies of those of Egypt, the 'rule' was that of the monks of Egypt, and the religious literature studied in both countries must have been the same.

In the title of the first work in the manuscript are found  $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma\bar{\iota}\ \epsilon\epsilon\alpha\rho\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$ , and the name  $\epsilon\epsilon\eta\mu\iota\alpha$ , prefixed by a Nubian word which must mean 'saint' or 'blessed'; the last word of the title is  $\lambda\epsilon\epsilon\eta\mu\iota$ . From these words and names it is clear that the text which follows must refer to Mēna, a martyr of Christ, and it may be a hymn to the saint, or an encomium on him, or a history of his martyrdom, or a short summary of his life similar to the summaries of the lives of saints which are found in the Arabic or Ethiopic Synaxarium. Whether the title adds any description which would enable us to identify the Mēna referred to cannot be said, but probably it does not. The name Mēna, Mina<sup>1</sup>, Mennas, Menas, &c., was borne by several Egyptian saints and martyrs, who were of sufficient importance to be commemorated in patristic literature. Thus in the Ethiopic Synaxarium there are Minās and Ḥasinā the martyrs<sup>2</sup>; Minās the martyr, with his mother Urania<sup>3</sup>; Minas, Bishop of Tamaya<sup>4</sup>; Minās a martyr, whose name is carefully stated to mean  $\text{ምእምን}$ : i.e. faithful or believing<sup>5</sup>;

<sup>1</sup> In ancient Egyptian *Menā*   $\bar{\iota}$ , the Menes of the Greeks.

<sup>2</sup>  $\sigma\zeta\varsigma\bar{\iota}\text{:}\ \omega\alpha\alpha\bar{\iota}\text{:}$  Oriental 660, fol. 36 *a*, col. 2 (Teķemt vii).

<sup>3</sup>  $\lambda\omega\text{-}\zeta\bar{\iota}\text{:}$  Oriental 660, fol. 53 *a*, col. 1 (Khadār xi).

<sup>4</sup>  $\text{†}\sigma\sigma\text{:}$  Oriental 660, fol. 58 *b*, col. 3 (Khadār vii).

<sup>5</sup> Oriental 660, fol. 66 *b*, col. 1 (Khadār xv).

Minâs the Archbishop, who went to Scete<sup>1</sup>; Minâs Aragâwî or the hermit, of whom nothing is known<sup>2</sup>; Minâs of Akhmîm, who went to Eshmûnen<sup>3</sup>; Minâs the martyr, from the city of Kûs<sup>4</sup>; and Minâs the deacon, who is mentioned with Abbâ Hôr<sup>5</sup>. In the Arabic Synaxarium we have Abû Minâ on Hatûr xv, Minâs the martyr on Nakhassê ii, &c.

In the outline drawing of Fol. 10 *a* of the Nubian MS. the  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$   $\alpha\epsilon\eta\eta\alpha$  there represented is an equestrian soldier, who became a military saint, like Saints Victor and Vicentius, Saint Kene and others, and of all the saints and martyrs mentioned above the only Minâs who can possibly be identified with the original of the drawing is the Egyptian soldier who is commemorated on the fifteenth day of Khadâr by the Abyssinians, on the fifteenth of Hatûr by the Copts<sup>6</sup>, and on November 11 by the Western Churches<sup>7</sup>. Of the history of this saint previous to his martyrdom little is known, but a fairly full description of the tortures which he suffered and of his martyrdom exists in Greek, Latin, Arabic, and Ethiopic. In the accounts of the martyrdom given in these languages several

<sup>1</sup> Oriental 660, fol. 67 *a*, col. 3 (Khadâr xv).

<sup>2</sup> Oriental 660, fol. 98 *a*, col. 1 (Takhshâsh xiv).

<sup>3</sup>  $\lambda\eta\sigma\sigma\epsilon\lambda\zeta$ ; Oriental 660, fol. 159 *b*, col. 3 (Yakâtîi xvii).

<sup>4</sup> Oriental 660, fol. 163 *a*, col. 3 (Yakâtîi xxv).

<sup>5</sup> Oriental 660, fol. 59 *b*, col. 2 (Genbôt xv).

<sup>6</sup> Wüstenfeld, *Synaxarium, das ist Heiligen-Kalender der Coptischen Christen*, Gotha, 1879, p. 117.

<sup>7</sup> See *Acta Sanctorum*, November (Propylæum), Brussels, 1902, col. 211.

proper names occur, e.g. those of the reigning emperors, the generals, &c., but none of these is forthcoming in the Nubian MS. It must, therefore, be concluded that the text in it relating to Mēna is neither a life of the saint in the ordinary sense of the word, nor a general account of his martyrdom. It is probably a sort of rhythmic composition in short lines, similar to those which were sung in the Greek<sup>1</sup> and Ethiopian<sup>2</sup> Churches in honour of the saint on the day of his commemoration, containing allusions only to the sufferings which he endured, and abundant praises of his spiritual excellence.

From the title to the second work in the Nubian MS. there is little information to be obtained about the contents of the text which follows, for at most only one name,  $\mu\kappa\epsilon\alpha$ , and one word,  $\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\iota$  or  $\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\iota\alpha$ , appear to be Greek. If  $\mu\kappa\epsilon\alpha$  be Nicaea, and  $\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\iota\alpha$  be 'Canons', the text probably contains a selection from the Canons which were formulated at Nicaea.

<sup>1</sup> See Krumbacher, *Miscellen zu Romanos*, Munich, 1907, pp. 1 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See Brit. Mus. MS. 16226, fol. 18 b.

## IV. THE MARTYRDOM OF SAINT MÈNA

From the narratives of the martyrdom of Mèna now available, it is clear that the fame of the saint was very great, and that his tomb was regarded as a most holy place for some hundreds of years. He suffered martyrdom at the end of the third or beginning of the fourth century, and it may well be assumed that as soon as rumours of the wonderful supernatural powers of the saint, and the marvellous cures which he was supposed to effect, spread throughout Egypt, accounts of his sufferings and martyrdom would be written in Greek<sup>1</sup>, Latin<sup>2</sup>, Coptic, and Syriac. These would speedily find their way into all the great monasteries and religious houses of Egypt and Nubia, and, little by little, narratives of his miracles would be added to them. The oldest accounts of his martyrdom are probably those written in Greek, for none are forthcoming either in Syriac or Coptic. It is remarkable that the great collection of Syriac MSS. from the Nitrian Desert catalogued by Professor William

<sup>1</sup> See *Analecta Bollandiana*, III, pp. 258-270, Paris and Brussels, 1884; *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca* (Société des Bollandistes, Brussels, 1895), p. 91; Krumbacher, *Miscellen zu Romanos*, Munich, 1907, pp. 31-43, &c.; *Acta Sanctorum* (Propylaeum), Brussels, 1902, col. 211. The Greek MS. from which the Latin version printed in Mombritius, *Sanctuarium*, II. 156, 157, was made seems to have disappeared.

<sup>2</sup> See *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina* (Société des Bollandistes, Brussels, 1900-1901), p. 864.

Wright<sup>1</sup> contained no life of the saint, especially when we remember how near the Wâdi Naṭrûn is to Alexandria. The principal facts of the martyrdom of Mèna derived from the accounts in Greek are as follows :

Mèna lived under the rule of Diocletian and Maximianus, who issued edicts ordering all men to worship their gods, and decreeing torture and death to all who were Christians. He was a soldier, and served under Firmilianus, and possessed considerable mental ability, and was of fine, commanding stature. When he arrived at Kotyaion with his fellows he heard of the edict of the emperors, and fled to the desert, preferring to live with wild animals rather than worship idols. Having fasted and prayed in the desert for some time, he made his appearance in the city during the performance of the games and equestrian exercises at one of the great festivals, and, as the result of the tumult which his words and appearance produced, was seized and carried before Pyrrhus, the prefect. In answer to his questions Mèna declared that he was a Christian, and was dismissed under guard and in fetters until the following day. On the morrow when he appeared before the prefect, Pyrrhus tried to persuade him to give up his belief, and when he derided the idea Pyrrhus lost his temper and ordered him to be flogged. This order was carried out with such thoroughness that

<sup>1</sup> *Catalogue of the Syriac MSS. in the British Museum*, 3 vols. 4to, 1870-1872.

the earth was reddened by the blood from Mēna's wounds. Finding that he made no impression on Mēna's mind by the flogging, Pyrrhus ordered him to be hung up on a block of wood, and when this was done he caused his body to be scraped with sharp claw-like iron instruments, and at length most of his skin was torn off him. Seeing that Mēna remained steadfast in his belief, Pyrrhus next ordered lighted torches to be applied to his wounds, and, when these proved powerless to make him renounce Christ, ordered him to be removed for a season. When he was next brought before Pyrrhus, he became filled with wrath at the boldness of Mēna's words, and commanded men to drag him, bound hand and foot, backwards and forwards over sharp iron stakes fastened in the ground, and then had him beaten on the neck and jaws. At length Pyrrhus, after consultation with his officers, ordered Mēna to be beheaded outside the city and his body to be burnt; and the sentence was duly carried out. Whilst, however, the body was in the fire certain pious men succeeded in rescuing it, and they carried it away to a suitable place, and having anointed it with unguents and wrapped it in fine linen, they took it back to his native country.

The Life of Mēna given in Arabic in the Jacobite Synaxarium<sup>1</sup> adds a number of details about the saint which are wanting in the Greek. It states

<sup>1</sup> The Arabic text has been edited, with a French translation, by René Basset in *Patrologia Orientalis*, tom. iii, fasc. 3, Paris (no date); a German translation is given by Wüstenfeld, *Synaxarium*, Gotha, 1879, p. 117.

that he was surnamed 'Al-Amîn', a play on the word 'Amen', and that his father was a citizen of Niķyûs, called Awdeksyûs (Eudoxius), who was sent to rule in Phrygia as a result of an intrigue by his brother. Mèna was born as the result of a special appeal by his mother to the Virgin Mary, and the child grew up and was educated as a Christian; on the death of his father he succeeded to his office, but he gave himself up to fasting and prayer. After the promulgation of Diocletian's edict he publicly proclaimed his belief in the Christian faith, and after suffering many tortures he was beheaded. His body was rescued by the faithful from the fire into which it had been cast, and when the troops of Mareotis were going to Pentapolis they took it with them. Whilst they were on the sea, tame creatures, with faces like those of wild beasts and necks like those of camels, came up out of it, and began to stretch out their necks along the body of the saint and to lick it, whereupon fire came forth out of the body and consumed their faces.

When the troops had performed their duties and were about to leave Alexandria for Mareotis, they wished to take the body of Mèna with them; but when they placed it on a camel, for transport to the ship, the animal refused to move. A second camel was brought and the body was laid upon it, but though beaten severely this animal also refused to move. The soldiers then recognized that it was God's will that the body of the saint should not leave Alexandria, and, having built there a tomb

and buried the body in it, they departed. Near this tomb was a well or spring, the water of which was accidentally discovered to contain medicinal properties. A sheep with the scab walked into it, and when it had come out and had rolled itself in the dust near the tomb it was healed<sup>1</sup>. Seeing this the shepherd took some of the same dust, and, having mixed it with the water, rubbed the mixture on all his sheep that had the scab, and they were at once healed. Now the 'King of Constantinople' had an only daughter who was smitten with leprosy, and when he heard the story of the sheep he sent her to Alexandria with a large escort. Having learned from the shepherd what she ought to do, she mixed some dust of the tomb with the water and rubbed her body with it; she slept in that place that night, and when she woke up the next morning she was healed. During her sleep Mēna appeared to her and told her that his body was buried in that place, whereupon she reported the matter to her father, who sent men and money and built a church there. During the reigns of Arcadius and Honorius a large town was built near the tomb and the spring, and great numbers of miracles<sup>2</sup> were performed there from that time until the period of the rule of the Muslims, when the town and the church were destroyed.

<sup>1</sup> A version of this story is given by Mr. A. J. Butler in his *Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt*, II, p. 362.

<sup>2</sup> Five miracles of Mēna are described by Timothy, Archbishop of Alexandria: see Surius, *De Probatis Sanctorum Vitis*, Cologne, 1618 (November 11).

Among the literature of the Ethiopian Church two accounts of Saint Mèna are preserved. The shorter is contained in the *Synaxarium*, and appears to have been translated from an Arabic text similar to that given in the Jacobite *Synaxarium* which was used by the Copts. At the end is a slight variation ; and it is said that Satan stirred up evil men to destroy the church of Mèna, and carry away his body, and lay waste the city, and that when a new church had been built, and the body laid in it, more signs and wonders appeared than before. The longer account was also probably translated from the Arabic, but at what period cannot be said. The oldest known copy of it is contained in Oriental 689<sup>1</sup>, which Professor William Wright attributed to the fifteenth century. This account gives a description of the life of Mèna before his martyrdom and the details of his sufferings, and reproduces the conversations between Mèna and the governor, and adds information which is not found elsewhere. Up to the end of the narrative of the martyrdom it agrees closely in many places with the Greek text printed in *Analecta Bollandiana*, III, pp. 258-270, but there are several passages in it for which there are no equivalents in any published Greek text.

In the Jacobite *Synaxarium* it is said that when Mèna was living in the desert he saw heaven open and the martyrs wearing beautiful and glorious

<sup>1</sup> See Wright, *Catalogue of the Ethiopic MSS. in the British Museum*, p. 159.

crowns, and heard a voice which said, 'Whosoever shall suffer for the Name of Christ shall receive these crowns.' In the longer Ethiopic version this speech is much fuller, and Mēna is told that he shall receive three incorruptible crowns, like (those) of the Trinity, one as a reward for his chaste life, one for his patient endurance, and one for his martyrdom. This passage must have been present in the mind of the scribe who drew the picture of the saint in the Nubian MS. (Fol. 10 *a*), for there, above the figure of Mēna on the horse, the three crowns are represented. In the Jacobite Synaxarium the fact that Mēna was a soldier is slurred over, but in the Ethiopic text it is insisted on again and again, and the governor, whose name is not given, called upon him to obey his orders *because* he was a soldier and a servant of the emperor. And when Mēna quoted the Scriptures to him the governor asked him, 'Being a soldier how knowest thou this Scripture?' The Greek text says that after the saint had been beaten for some hours an officer present, called Heliodorus<sup>1</sup>, advised the governor to pass sentence of death on Mēna without delay; this name has been preserved in the Ethiopic under the form 'Habta Ḍaḥāya', i. e. 'gift of the sun'.

The episode of the beasts coming up out of the sea is also amplified in the Ethiopic version. As the troops under their general Athanasius were

<sup>1</sup> Τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς τάξεώς τις Ἡλιόδωρος παρεστώς, *Analecta Bollandiana*, III. 268.

sailing from Alexandria to Mareotis certain terrible beasts rose up out of the sea and tried to snatch away the body of the saint, but arrows of fire darted out from it and smote them in their faces, and they fled and hid themselves in the sea; these beasts had long, thick necks, and their faces were like those of camels. And they came a second time, and when arrows of fire again struck them they bowed low before the body of the saint and departed. These things made all the people wonder exceedingly, and they glorified Mèna who, they firmly believed, had delivered them from the terrible beasts in the sea.

After sailing five days Athanasius and his troops reached Mareotis, where they fought a battle, and through the power of the body of Mèna they vanquished the foe. When Athanasius was ready to return he wished to take the saint's body back with him, and had it placed on a camel for transport to the ship. The camel was, however, unable to move, and he therefore transferred it to the back of another camel, but this camel also was unable to move; and he placed it on the back of every camel, one after the other, which he had with him, but none of them could walk away with it. Athanasius then recognized that God wished the body of the saint to remain where it was, and he desisted from his efforts to carry it away. Finding that he could not have Mèna with him to guide and protect him in future, he decided to have the next best thing to the body, viz. a picture of the saint. He

therefore caused a portrait of Mèna to be painted on a wooden tablet, and had it laid on the body of the saint, so that it might absorb some of the qualities of the dead man, and determined to take that with him as a protection when travelling by sea or fighting on land. In the picture the saint 'was dressed as he (i. e. Athanasius) had known him, in the uniform of a soldier, and there were at his feet representations of the beasts (from the sea), which resembled camels, and they were worshipping him'. It is clear from this statement that neither Athanasius nor the artist knew what the beasts from the sea really were, for otherwise the creatures would not have been represented as camels. What the soldiers in the boat saw as they sailed from Alexandria to Mareotis was probably 'a school of porpoises', which their fear transformed into 'terrible beasts, with thick, long necks like those of camels'.

This portion of the Ethiopic account has some bearing on the question of the ornamentation of the terracotta flasks<sup>1</sup>, which have the name and figure of Saint Mèna stamped on them, and are known to come from Alexandria and its neighbourhood. The saint is seen standing upright, and he has a halo round his head. A short cloak is thrown over his left shoulder, and he wears a girdle and a sort of fringed or pleated tunic. Each hand is uplifted over a quadruped with a long neck and

<sup>1</sup> Collections of these are exhibited in the Fourth Egyptian Room and among the Christian Collections in the last room at the eastern end of the Northern Gallery in the British Museum.

a tail, which is kneeling by the side of the saint, with its head and neck stretched out on the ground towards his feet<sup>1</sup> (see Plate I). The examination of thirty of these flasks leaves no room for doubt that the quadruped was intended by the designer of the moulds for the flasks to represent a camel. It has been generally assumed that the camels on the flasks are meant to represent the camels which refused to bear away the body of Mênâ from the place where God intended it to rest, but there is no proof that such is the case. Another view is that the camels illustrate a legend to the effect that when Mênâ was about to be beheaded he told the people near him to put his body after death on a camel, and to turn the animal loose, whereupon it would find its way to the place where he was to be buried<sup>2</sup>. The true explanation of the camels on the flasks of Mênâ is probably suggested by the Ethiopic version, which is clearly based on ancient materials. Athanasius the officer had a portrait painted of Mênâ, in the apparel of a soldier, with representations of beasts of the sea, 'which resembled camels,' at his feet worshipping him. In other words, Mênâ the soldier was made into a maritime saint, because he delivered Athanasius and his troops from these marine creatures. The man who made the moulds of the oldest Mênâ flasks knew that he had to represent Mênâ as a military saint,

<sup>1</sup> On a reliquary at Milan the camels are represented with their heads and necks up; for an illustration see Murray, *P.S.B.A.*, Jan. 1907, Plate 3.

<sup>2</sup> Mombritius, *Sanctuarium*, II, fol. 157 b, col. 2.

with beasts 'which resembled camels' kneeling and worshipping him. Finding it impossible to make figures of beasts 'which resembled camels' but were not camels, he made actual figures of camels, and placed them in the position required by the tradition current in his day.

The shrine of Mèna was at Mareotis, at no great distance from Alexandria, and nothing was more natural than that he should become a maritime saint, and the patron of fisher-folk and all those who lived on the seashore in the neighbourhood. The drawing of Saint Mèna which is found in the Nubian MS. (Fol. 10 *a*) appears to contain traces of the tradition of the picture of Mèna painted for Athanasius the officer. In it we have a good representation of a soldier on horseback, wearing a military cloak, belt, and tunic, and armed with a long-shafted spear, which is turned point downwards. On the ground before him is a figure of a bearded man, with his right hand stretched out and touching the hoof of the left foreleg of the horse. Near its feet are the remains of some object which, owing to the mutilation of the bottom margin of the leaf, it is impossible to identify.

According to the Synaxarium the place where the body of Mèna was buried was made known by the saint himself to a daughter of the 'King of Constantinople', but in the longer Ethiopic version it is said that his tomb was discovered in another way. A certain lame young man went and rested himself on a spot over which he saw

a lamp burning, and whilst he was there his father found him and began to beat him. The lame youth leaped to his feet, and finding that his foot was healed ran away in the sight of his father and the other people who were there. Subsequently the young man told them about the lamp, and then they looked and saw the lamp burning, and people flocked there and were healed of their diseases. Soon afterwards a church in the form of a tent was built over Mëna's tomb; in it was hung a lamp similar to that which had been seen first by the lame young man; it burned by day and by night, and the oil in it was scented; and people who came from a distance took away to their homes some of the oil of that lamp, and effected cures on sick people therewith. These statements explain the existence of flasks stamped with the name and figure of Saint Mëna; they were used by the faithful for carrying away the scented oil which they obtained from the lamp burning over his grave.

Mëna flasks are flat, and are made of earths of various colours, pink, brown, grey, &c.; they have usually two handles, and measure from about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  in. to  $6\frac{1}{2}$  in. in height. Some have the figures of the saint and two camels stamped on both sides, with the legend

✠ ΕΥΛΟΓΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΜΗΝΑ ✠

running round each scene<sup>1</sup>; others have the same scene enclosed within a wreath on each side<sup>2</sup>, with

<sup>1</sup> See No. 23328.

<sup>2</sup> See No. 38495.

the saint's name added,  $\sigma$   $\alpha$   $\sigma$   $\iota$   $\sigma$   $\alpha$   $\mu$   $\eta$   $\nu$   $\alpha$ ; others have a cross  $\boxtimes$  on each side of Mēna's face<sup>1</sup>, or  $\odot\odot\odot$ <sup>2</sup>; and one in the British Museum has two necks<sup>3</sup>. Interesting variants are given by No. 5232 (see Plate II, No. 1), where we find the saint and the camels on one side, and on the other a figure of the large two-handled oil jar in which the stock of the sacred oil was kept, with a small oil flask by its side. The conical object seen on the large jar is the massive earthen cover, which resembles the jar stoppers that were in common use in Egypt for jars of oil and wine from the Archaic Period downwards. Another important example is No. 883 (see Plate II, No. 2). On the one side are the saint and the two camels, and on the other a ship, which proves that Mēna was a maritime saint and the patron of shipping, and that the oil from the lamp in his shrine was believed to carry with it the same protective power which his dead body displayed in the ship on behalf of Athanasius and his soldiers.

The first church over the tomb of Mēna was in the form of a tent, and was probably built by Athanasius, the officer, at no great distance from the seashore<sup>4</sup>. This, however, soon disappeared, for the Ethiopic narrative states that a church was built

<sup>1</sup> See No. 5231.    <sup>2</sup> See No. 17082.    <sup>3</sup> See No. 38462.

<sup>4</sup> It is strange that Palladius, who visited all the famous monks of Egypt in the last quarter of the fourth century, gives no account of Mēna in his *Paradise of the Fathers*, for he lived three years in the monasteries near Alexandria and sailed across Lake Mareotis to the Nitrian Desert.

over the tomb in the days of Archbishop Athanasius, who sat from 326 to 372. Apparently Athanasius died before the building was completed, for the text goes on to say that the body of the saint was placed there and the church consecrated in the reign of Theodosius (378-395), during the Patriarchate of Abbâ Theophilus (385-412). At this time or soon afterwards a great church, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, was built near the church of Mëna, and it was specially provided for the use of those who came to the tomb of the saint.

The second church, i.e. that consecrated in the reign of Theodosius, was probably the nucleus of the great monastery and of the important town, which flourished under the name of Al-Mûna, or Al-Mîna, in the fifth century. The position of this town has been accurately fixed by Herr C. M. Kaufmann, who has excavated the whole site, and he says that the once flourishing Oasis town of Menas lies at a distance of four caravan hours to the south-west of the ruins of Taphosiris Magna, and half-way between Alexandria and the Wâdi an-Naṭrûn, upon the road from Ṭarrânah to Barkah<sup>1</sup>. The remains of Saint Mëna were probably transferred to this site because it was an ancient and important trade centre for the caravans which travelled between Alexandria and the Oasis of Jupiter Ammon, and between Alexandria and Upper Egypt. Originally the town owed its importance solely to the fact

<sup>1</sup> *Die Ausgrabung der Menas-Heiligtümer in der Mareotiswüste, Cairo, 1906, pp. 18 ff.*

that it was built near springs of water. The town of Al-Mîna is described by an Arab writer quoted by Quatremère<sup>1</sup> and by Pacho<sup>2</sup>; see also the note in Mr. A. J. Butler's *Arab Conquest of Egypt*, pp. 177, 178.

In the reign of Zeno (474–491) a fortification of some kind and barracks for soldiers were built near the tomb, and the officers and Alexandrians of high rank removed to the place and built their houses and palaces there, because of the miracles which were worked at the tomb of Mêna during the days of the Patriarch Timothy. From the middle of the fifth century to the conquest of Egypt by the Arabs the church of Mêna enjoyed great prosperity, and it is to this period that must be assigned the oil flasks of Mêna described above. During the interesting excavations which were made by Kaufmann on the site of the 'town of Mêna' in the desert of Mareotis in 1905 the remains of an oven in which Mêna flasks had been baked were found, and in a cellar a number of large amphorae in which the sacred oil was stored were discovered. Kaufmann's careful examination of the site also produced terra-cotta lamps of various kinds, on some of which was the legend  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\ \alpha\mu\iota\alpha$ , and it is clear that the manufacture and sale of the flasks and lamps must have been a very profitable business.

Towards the end of the reign of Heraclius the prosperity of the town and shrine of Mêna began

<sup>1</sup> *Mémoires*, tom. i, p. 488.

<sup>2</sup> *Relation d'un Voyage dans la Marmarique*, Paris, 1827.

to decline, and during the troublous years which immediately preceded and followed the conquest of Egypt by the Arabs the church was pillaged and the town plundered and destroyed. Later, when the Copts began to regain influence and power, another church was built on the old site, and the cult of the saint revived. In the first half of the ninth century the church was pillaged, and much of what was beautiful in it was carried off, and before the close of the century the Arabs, who were infuriated at the arrogance of the Copts, attacked all their churches, and among those which were utterly destroyed was that of Saint Mèna of Al-Mûna, or Al-Mîna.

The name of Mèna was commemorated in Egypt and the Sûdân, and even in remote Abyssinia, for centuries after his death, and his martyrdom and the miracles worked by him at his tomb were held to makē him the equal of the greatest saints in the Egyptian Church. In prayers his name was used as a word of power, and it is found in invocations cut upon Coptic sepulchral stelae of the ninth and tenth centuries. Thus on stele No. 1107 in the Southern Egyptian Gallery (Bay 32) is an invocation to Saints Biktôr (Victor), Phêbamôn, Mèna, George, Cyriacus Philotheos, Sergius, and others, and on No. 1110 (Bay 28) Mèna is invoked with Michael, Gabriel, Adam, the Virgin Mary, Victor, Phoebamon, George, Cyriacus, and other saints and martyrs. The fame of the saint spread not only into countries to the west of Egypt, but also into

Europe, and one of his oil flasks was found as far to the west as Arles<sup>1</sup>. For a description of the beautiful ivory box in the British Museum, on the sides of which are carved scenes representing the martyrdom of Mēna and his sanctuary near Alexandria, see O. M. Dalton, *Catalogue of Early Christian Antiquities*, p. 55. On the antiquities generally which bear the saint's name or refer to his martyrdom see E. Michon, 'La Collection d'Ampoules à Eulogie,' in the *Mélanges* of G. B. de Rossi, Paris-Rome, 1892; and Kaufmann, *Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie*, Paderborn, 1905, pp. 580 ff., and the authorities quoted there by him.

<sup>1</sup> See the article 'Ampolla dell' olio di S. Menna Martire scoperta in Arles', in *Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana*, ed. G. B. de Rossi, vol. VII, Rome, 1869, p. 31.

## V. THE MARTYRDOM OF SAINT MÎNÂS

*From the Ethiopic Synaxarium*

(Oriental 660, fol. 66 b 1 ff.)

IN THE NAME OF THE FATHER, AND THE SON, AND THE  
HOLY GHOST, [ONE] GOD!

THE FIFTEENTH DAY OF KHADÂR

On this day Saint Mînâs, the interpretation of whose name is 'faithful and blessed', became a martyr. The father of this holy man was one of the men of the city of Nâkîûyôs<sup>1</sup>, whose name was 'Awdôkyôs<sup>2</sup>, and he was a prefect and governor. And his brother was jealous of him, and made an accusation against him to the king, who sent him away to the country of Afrâkya<sup>3</sup> (Phrygia), and appointed him governor over that country. And the people of that country rejoiced in him, for he was a merciful man, and he feared God. Now the mother of Saint Mînâs had no child. And one day, on the festival of our holy Lady the Virgin Mary, she went to church, and she saw the sons of the Church<sup>4</sup> wearing fine apparel, and coming to church, and she cried out and wept before the image (or, picture) of our holy Lady the Virgin Mary, and she entreated her to make supplication to God on her behalf

<sup>1</sup> The نقيوس of the Arabs. On the identification of this town with  $\eta\upsilon\delta\omicron\chi\iota\omicron\varsigma$  see Amélineau, *Géographie*, p. 277.

<sup>2</sup> አውደካዮስ: for አውደካሲዮስ: = EUDOXIUS. The Arabic text has اودكسيوس.

<sup>3</sup> Arabic أفريقية.

<sup>4</sup> i. e. the children of believing folk.

that He might give her a son. And there went forth a voice from the image (or, picture) of our holy Lady the Virgin Mary, saying, 'Amen.' And straightway that woman departed to her house. And she told her husband of the voice which she had heard from the image (or, picture) of our Lady Mary; and her husband said unto her, 'The Will of God be done.' And after a few days God gave her this holy son, and she called his name 'Mînâs', according to the voice which she had heard from the image (or, picture) of our Lady Mary<sup>1</sup>.

And when he had grown up a little Eudoxius taught him the Scriptures and spiritual doctrine. And when he was eleven f. 66 v 3 years old his father died, being a very old man. | And about three years later his mother died; and Saint Mînâs was left by himself, fasting and praying. And although the officers, on account of their great love for his father, gave him his father's position, he would not forsake the worship of Christ.

And when Diocletian denied [Christ] he commanded all the people to worship idols, and many became martyrs for the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, to Whom be glory! And at that time Mînâs left his appointment, and departed to the desert, and he dwelt [there] many days, contending greatly. And one day he saw heaven open, and the martyrs crowned with beautiful crowns, and he heard a voice which said unto him, 'He who laboreth for the Name of Jesus Christ, to Whom be glory! shall receive crowns like unto these.' And he returned to the city and confessed the Name of Jesus Christ, to Whom be glory! And many men received him because they knew that he belonged to a noble family. And the governor promised him rich apparel and many great honours, but he would neither hearken to his command nor turn from his excellent counsel. And straightway the governor commanded him to be beaten with a severe beating, and when the men were worn out with torturing

<sup>1</sup> A play on the word Amîn or Amên.

him, the governor commanded them to cut off his head with a sword. And they cut off his head straightway, and he received the crowns of martyrdom in the kingdom of the heavens. And many men became martyrs because of him, and for the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, to Whom be glory!

Now the governor had commanded them to cast the body of the holy man into the fire, but [certain] believing men took the body of the holy man out of the fire, which had neither touched it nor harmed it, and no injury whatsoever had come upon it. And they swathed it for burial in fair swathings, and they laid it up in a certain place | until the f. 67a 1 end of the days of persecution.

And in those days the men of the region of Maryût<sup>1</sup> (Mareotis) wished to collect a troop of men from the Five Cities<sup>2</sup>, and they took the body of Saint Mînâs with them that it might be unto them a help, and might protect them on the way. And as they were sitting in the ship, the body of Saint Mînâs being with them, beasts came up out of the sea, and their faces were like unto the faces of serpents, and their necks like unto those of camels. And they stretched out their necks towards the body of the holy man, and licked it; and the men were afraid with a great fear. And there went forth fire from the body of the holy man and consumed the faces of the beasts. And when they had come to the city of Alexandria, and had finished their business, they wanted to return to their country, and to take the body of Saint Mînâs with them. And when they had set his body upon a camel that camel would not rise up from his place; and they placed the body upon another camel, and that camel also would not rise up; and though they beat the camel with a severe beating he would not move at all. And they knew that this was the will of God, and they built a shrine over the saint, and buried him therein, and departed.

<sup>1</sup> المرابطة.

<sup>2</sup> Pentapolis, الخمس مدن.

And God wished to reveal the [place of the] body of Saint Mînâs. And there was in that desert a certain shepherd, and one day a sheep which was suffering from the disease of the scab went to that place, and dipped himself in the water of the little spring which was near the place, and he rolled about in it and was healed straightway. And when the shepherd saw this thing, and understood the miracle, he marvelled exceedingly and was astonished. And [afterwards] he used to take some of the dust from that shrine, and mix it with water, and rub it on the sheep, and, if they were ill with the scab, they were straightway  
 f. 67 a 2 healed thereby. And this | he used to do at all times, and he healed all the sick who came to him by this means.

And the king of Constantinople heard the report of this matter. And he had an only daughter who was suffering from a disease of the skin, and he sent her to that place, but she was unwilling to take off her apparel before the men. And she asked the shepherd in what way he worked, and how he healed the sick, and the shepherd told her how he did it. And she took dust from that place, and mixed it with water from the spring, and she rubbed the whole of her body therewith. Now she slept that night in that place. And Saint Mînâs appeared unto her, and said unto her, 'When thou risest up in the morning, dig, and thou shalt find my body'; and straightway she was healed of her sickness. And having risen up, being healed of her sickness, she commanded them to dig in that place, and immediately they found the body of Saint Mînâs. And she rejoiced exceedingly with great joy, and she sent a letter to her father and made this matter known unto him. And the king built a church over the body of the saint.

And a beautiful church<sup>1</sup> was [also] built to him in that

<sup>1</sup> The first church of Mëna was probably destroyed during the general destruction of monasteries in the Nitrian Valley and in the neighbourhood which is described by Socrates (*Hist. Eccles.* VI. 7).

place in the days of the righteous Emperors Arcadius (395-408) and Honorius, who commanded them to build a great city there; and a great city was built there according as the righteous Emperors had commanded. And they laid the body of Saint Mînâs in that church, and signs and great wonders were made manifest through his body. And people of all kinds used to come into that church, and they were healed of their sicknesses, and signs and wonders were made manifest in that church. And Satan was envious, and stirred up certain evil men of the city<sup>1</sup>, and they destroyed | the f. 67 a 3 church, and laid waste the city, and carried away the body of Saint Mînâs. And other men built a church to him there, and they laid his body in it, and there more signs and more mighty wonders took place than before. May his blessing be with, &c.

<sup>1</sup> Probably Theophilus and his companions.

VI. THE MARTYRDOM OF SAINT MÎNÂS<sup>1</sup>

*From the Book of the Acts of Saints and Martyrs  
in Ethiopic*

(Oriental 689, fol. 73 b ff.)

f. 73 b 1 The Martyrdom of Mînâs, the Saint, and Warrior, and Martyr of our Lord Jesus Christ. May his prayer be with us! Amen.

This holy man and martyr, the blessed Mînâs, belonged to a district of Egypt, the name whereof was Kĕṭwâ<sup>2</sup>, which was called after the name of a certain governor, who built therein a tower and made strong the walls thereof. The name of the father of Saint Mînâs was 'Awdeksis (Eudoxius), and the name of his mother was 'Awfômyâ (Euphemia); they were Christians, and the people loved  
f. 73 b 2 Eudoxius. And his brother 'Aṭâlyôs | (Anatolius) rose up against him, and made false accusations against him to 'Abrâyôs<sup>3</sup> the king, and the king appointed him to 'Abrâkiyâ<sup>4</sup> (Phrygia). Now he was exceedingly rich.

<sup>1</sup> The text is edited from Oriental 689 and is the oldest we have, and notwithstanding its inaccuracies in places, repetitions, &c., is trustworthy. The variants given in the notes are from Oriental 691 (B), which contains a carefully written text, and is most useful in supplementing the standard text. The text given by C (Oriental 686) adds nothing new; the references to its folios are given for the convenience of those who may wish to consult the MS.

<sup>2</sup> According to the Greek Kĕṭwâ was in Phrygia; see Krumbacher, *Miscellen zu Romanos*, p. 31. The Greek texts have Κορυαίωv.

<sup>3</sup> 'Abrâyôs was probably a governor of Phrygia.

<sup>4</sup> There seems to be a confusion here between the names Phrygia and Africa.

And he carried his possessions and his wife from Alexandria to 'Abrâkîyâ (Phrygia), and he was angry with his wife, for they had no child.

On one occasion when his wife went to the church on the Festival of Our Lady Mary, the Mother of God, Jesus Christ our Lord, the Word of the Father (to Whom be praise for ever and ever, Amen!), and saw the people bringing in their children to be blessed by Our Lady, the Holy Virgin, she wept bitter tears, and prayed, and made supplication and entreaty, [for a child, and] she heard a voice from Our Lady which said, 'Amen.' Then she conceived and brought forth a son, and she called him 'Minâs'; now she took this name from [the word] 'Amîn'<sup>1</sup>. And his father rejoiced, and set free the malefactors from the | prison, and he gave much f. 74 a 1 alms to the poor.

And when the child grew up he taught him whatsoever was necessary, and the doctrine of the Holy Scriptures; and [the boy] trained himself in fasting and prayer. And when he was eleven years old his father died, and three years later his mother died also; and he sorrowed exceedingly because he was alone and because he was an orphan, and he gave all his goods to the poor, and withdrew to the church where he toiled in fasting and prayer.

And the governor who was appointed over 'Afrâkyâ (i. e. Africa) after his father, loved Minâs exceedingly, and he took him by guile and made him a soldier; now at that time he was fifteen years of age, and he made him his deputy.

And in the second year of the reign of Gâyyôs Waflesâyôs<sup>2</sup> [the Emperors] called upon all people to worship the polluted gods, and their edict was exceedingly evil. And they wrote letters, and sent them into every country and province under their rule, and they came even to the borders of K̄waṭîlâm

<sup>1</sup> i. e. 'Amen'; Amin is also a name of God.

<sup>2</sup> Gaius Valerius Maximianus, Emperor from 305–311. The Greek text of the Bollandists mentions Diocletian and Maximianus.

f. 74 a 2 and to the cities of Africa. | And at that time there ruled in that country 'Arkôrîkôs, and 'Abdâdikôn, and Melyânôs<sup>1</sup>, and the officers of the military service, and with them was Mînâs, the blessed man and true martyr of our Lord Jesus Christ, and he shone in their midst like a star. And the governors made haste to perform the command which was written in the Edict, which spoke thus:

'Rejoice, O all ye people, for we have decreed honours for the gods, [as is] right, and we ourselves desire greatly that whatsoever is decreed for them shall be performed with due reverence and with the zeal which is befitting. For this reason we have written unto every governor of every city, and unto every general of every army, and unto all men, and even unto women and children, that they may perform the service which is meet for the gods with all due care and reverence. And we decree, by our honour, that every one who shall set himself in opposition to our Imperial Edict shall at all times be punished and flogged without mercy.'

And straightway the heralds proclaimed in every city, to men and women alike, that they must undertake to worship the gods, and to return to their service. And because of this Edict a great commotion took place, and [the governors] compelled the people to promise that they would carry out the orders of the wicked Emperors.

And when Saint Mînâs also perceived this, he departed to the desert, and he lived there and worked like a peasant. And f. 74 b 1 he said, 'I have seen sin and corruption in the city, | and I have left it and fled far away therefrom. I will abide in the desert, and I shall see my God and Redeemer Jesus Christ.' And he dwelt there for many days in great privation, and he toiled hard. And after a time the grace of God lighted upon him, and he saw heaven open,

<sup>1</sup> Compare 'Αργυρίσκος ὁ κράτιστος ἡγεμὼν ταξιαρχούπτος Φιρμιλιανοῦ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν λεγομένων 'Ρουτιλιακῶν (Krumbacher, op. cit., p. 31).

and the interior thereof was filled with angels of light who were carrying crowns of light, and laying them upon the heads of those who had consummated their martyrdom. And the angels were making them to ascend into heaven with great splendour, and they were shining like the sun. And Saint Mînâs longed to become a martyr for the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ.

And as he was meditating upon this matter, a voice from heaven cried out and said unto him, 'Blessed art thou, Mînâs, for thou hast been called, and the fair beauty of thy mind hath made itself manifest from thy youth until this day. And thou shalt receive crowns incorruptible, like [those of] the Holy Trinity, O thou who art the firstborn of their love: one for thy virginity, and one for thy patient endurance, and one for thy martyrdom. And thy martyrdom shall be greater than the martyrdoms of a multitude of martyrs, and thy name shall be honoured, and multitudes of people shall come from every part of the world, and shall take refuge in thy church which shall be built in the land of Egypt, and works of power shall be manifest, | and wonderful things, and signs, and healings shall take place through thy holy body.' f. 74 b 2

And when Saint Mînâs heard this he rejoiced. And he rose up straightway and came into the city, whilst the unbelievers were gathered together in the place of festival<sup>1</sup>, and being lifted up in the Spirit he began to sing a psalm whilst the governors were seated there with all the people, and he said, 'I have come to those who have sought me, and I am found by those who make enquiry for me.' And they held their peace, for they were amazed, and they marvelled at his striving when they saw him in the garb of the Christians.

And the governor said unto him, 'Who art thou?' And he said, 'I am Mînâs, a holy man, the servant of my Lord Jesus Christ, the King of the universe.'

<sup>1</sup> i. e. the theatre.

And the governor said unto him, 'Art thou a stranger, O my son, that thou hast dared to come hither in this guise, and to prevent the people from performing their service by thy words?' And there were there some who recognized him, and they said to the governor, 'We know this man. He is a soldier from [the troop of] 'Awṭidîkôn<sup>1</sup>.'

And the governor said unto him, 'Art thou a soldier?' |  
f. 75 a 1 And Mînâs said unto him, 'Yea, I was a soldier in time past, but because of your infidelity I forsook [the service].'

And the governor said unto him, 'Why didst thou leave military service? Was it because thou wast an alien or a Christian?' And the governor commanded them to put him in prison.

And on the following day they brought him forth with the people into the market-place, and the unbelieving governor said unto him, 'How is it that thou darest to come into the market-place to be punished like a slave, and to put to shame the Emperors by saying "I am a Christian"? Now tell me. Why didst thou forsake military service? Where hast thou been living during these [last] days? And whence hast thou come?'

And Mînâs said unto him, 'I am a man of the land of Egypt, and because I wished to become a soldier of the Heavenly King I forsook the fleeting soldiery of this world.'

And the governor said unto him, 'Where hast thou been until this day?' And Saint Mînâs said unto him, 'Through love for Christ I chose to dwell with the lions in the desert, rather than to become corrupted with those who know not |  
f. 75 a 2 God, for it is written<sup>2</sup>, 'Let not my soul be corrupted with sinners, nor my life with the men of blood, in whose hands there is violence.'

<sup>1</sup> Compare τοῦτον ἡμεῖς γνωρίζομεν πρὸ ἐτῶν πέντε στρατευόμενον ἐν τῷ νομῆρῳ τῶν Ρουτλιακῶν τῶν ὄντων ὑπὸ Φιρμιλιανὸν τὸν τριβοῶνον (Krumbacher, op. cit., p. 33).

<sup>2</sup> Psalm xxxvi. 9.

And the governor said unto him, 'Sacrifice now to the gods, and forsake thine error, for thou art a soldier who hast forsaken thy service and hast called thyself a Christian. Have pity on thy life, O man, and draw nigh and offer sacrifice to the gods, and return to thy duty, and draw nigh and preserve thyself from torture.'

And the saint said unto him, 'I wish to please the King of Kings, and to receive from Him and to wear deathless crowns. Imagine not that thou canst make me to return through terror of thee, for I hold in contempt thy tortures (or, punishments), because I burn with desire to follow the example of my Lord Jesus Christ.'

And the governor said, 'Carry him away, and bind him tightly with cords hands and feet<sup>1</sup>, and flog him with an ox-hide whip.' And he said unto him, 'Since thou art a soldier return to thy duty to the Emperor.' And the blessed Minâs said, 'It is better for me to remain a soldier, and to return to the service of the Emperor Christ, Who is the Great King.' | And straightway they flogged him with f. 75 b 1 a severe flogging, until the ground was soaked with his blood, and he sank down upon the earth. And the governor said unto him, 'Sacrifice to the gods, O man, before any more of thy flesh be flogged off thee by the whip.'

'And Minâs said unto him, 'O evil counsellor, I will not return [to the service of the Emperor] through thy cruel torturings. Continue them, therefore, for God is my Helper, and He is able to provide healing for the wounds which thou inflictest.'

And the governor, in the stupidity of his heart, said, 'Flog him again, and hang him up upon a tree, and scrape his flesh off his body with scrapers.' And whilst they were doing this the governor said unto him, 'Art thou frightened by this torture, O Minâs? Or art thou well acquainted with

<sup>1</sup> The Ethiopic አገተ: ሿ: ገጽ: = the Greek ἐκ τεσσάρων (Krumbacher, op. cit., p. 35).

floggings of this kind?’ And the saint said unto him, ‘Dost thou imagine that thou wilt be able to destroy my determination by this torture? I am a soldier of Christ, and He will help me to be strong.’

And the governor said, ‘Torture him again.’ And he said unto him, ‘If thou hast another king show me thy king.’ And Mînâs said unto him, ‘O man of folly, wouldst thou blaspheme the King of heaven?’ And the governor said unto him, ‘Who is the king of whom thou sayest I cannot know him?’ And the blessed Mînâs said, ‘He is Jesus, the  
f. 75 b 2 Son of God, the Living One, the First, | the Creator of All.’

And the governor said unto him, ‘Knowest thou not that the Emperors are wroth about Christ, and that they have ordered to be tortured every one who shall mention Christ? Why then dost thou confess His name?’ And Mînâs said unto him, ‘Even though they be wroth with me I will continue to confess Him for ever, and I want to escape from this vain world. For it is written<sup>1</sup>, “Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall sorrow, or tribulation, or affliction, or nakedness?” I know there is nothing which is able to kill Christ.’

And the governor said unto him, ‘Behold, thou hast prepared thyself for torture, and thou shalt therefore be tortured in the flesh.’ And Mînâs said unto him, ‘In truth thy tortures cannot make me submissive, for in me is Jesus Christ, Who will help me at all times, for He helpeth those who fear Him in every matter, as long as it be for their benefit.’

And the governor said, ‘Bring ye to me lighted torches which burn brightly, so that I may be able to overcome  
f. 76 a 1 therewith the stupidity of his | heart, and may bring to nothing his strength.’ And when they placed the burning torches on his flesh (or, body), and they rested on his bosom and burned his flesh, he perceived them not. And the governor said unto him, ‘O Mînâs, dost thou not feel

<sup>1</sup> Romans viii. 35.

the fire?’ And Saint Minâs said unto him, ‘My Lord Jesus Christ Himself maketh me strong, for it is written, “When thou fallest into the fire it shall not burn thee<sup>1</sup>.” And Holy Scripture saith, “Ye shall not fear those who kill your bodies, but who are not able to kill your souls. Fear, however, Him that is able to destroy the soul and the body in the Gehenna of fire.”’

And the governor said unto him, ‘Being a soldier, how is it that thou knowest this Scripture?’ And the blessed Mînâs said: ‘Our Lord Jesus Christ said<sup>3</sup>: “When they take you before kings and governors, consider not what ye shall say, for it shall be given unto you forthwith what ye shall speak.”’

And the governor said unto him, ‘Did thy Christ know that thou wast about to suffer in this manner?’ And Saint Mînâs said unto him, ‘Christ is | God in very truth, and f. 76 a 2 He knoweth what is about to come to pass before it happeneth.’

And the governor said unto him, ‘Cease now from this [talk]: offer sacrifice to the gods, and depart to thy appointed work, and follow thy duty as a soldier.’ And the saint, the martyr of Christ, said unto him, ‘I am a soldier of the Heavenly King, as I have told thee before; do this that thou wishest. Thy tortures are in my flesh, but my soul and understanding<sup>4</sup> worship my God, the Heavenly King.’

And the governor said unto him, ‘Dost thou wish me to have patience with thee for two or three days so that thou mayest ponder thy decision, and desist from this folly which hath come upon thee?’ And Mînâs said unto him, ‘I have known my decision for many days: I cannot deny the God of heaven and earth. Consider thou that three days have passed since I came here and confessed that I was a Christian; I will never sacrifice to the gods, and, moreover, I will never obey thee.’

<sup>1</sup> Isaiah xliiii. 2.

<sup>2</sup> St. Matthew x. 28.

<sup>3</sup> St. Matthew x. 18, 19.

<sup>4</sup> Following the reading of B.

And the governor was wroth, and he commanded them to bring sharp iron stakes and drive them into the ground. And they tied ropes to the neck (or, body) and hair of Saint Mînâs, and dragged him over the iron stakes<sup>1</sup>. And Saint Mînâs f. 76 b 1 endured this [torture] with patience, | and the governor was not able to prevent him from confessing Jesus Christ. And he said unto the governor, 'To make thee to relieve me from tortures even more cruel than these which thou art inflicting upon me I would not deny the Lord God, my God.' I will not offer sacrifice to devils, and I will not perform the will of thy father Satan.'

And the governor said unto those whom he had commanded to torture him, 'Throw him on the ground, and tie a stone to his neck, and flog him because he called the gods "devils".' And whilst they were flogging him the governor said unto him, 'Beat him on the sides of his head, for I perceive that he can withstand the torture.' And as for Mînâs, whilst they were flogging him he held his peace, and uttered no word.

And one of those who were sitting there, whose name was Habta-ḏahâya<sup>2</sup>, said unto the governor, 'Dost thou not know that the race of Christians never turns backward, and that when they are tortured they bear the tortures patiently, for death is better to them than life? Pass the sentence of death then upon him, and weary thyself no longer with torturing him.'

And the governor said unto him, 'O Mînâs, sacrifice to the gods, and I will bestow honours upon thee.' And Saint Mînâs said unto him, 'Let thine honour be to the men of destruction.

<sup>1</sup> ἐκέλευσε τριβόλους ὀξεῖς σιδηροῦς γενέσθαι καὶ σκορπισθῆναι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐδάφους καὶ οὕτω δεθέντα αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ τραχήλου καὶ τῶν χειρῶν καὶ τῶν ποδῶν ἔλκεσθαι ἐπάνω αὐτῶν. Krumbacher, op. cit., p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> i. e. 'Gift of the sun,' the Ἡλιοδώρος of the Greek texts. The Greek versions show that it was Heliodoros and not the saint who advised the governor to pass sentence of death quickly; therefore delete **•ΠΘΘ:**.

As for me, I am about to receive the honour which awaiteth me, | and to be reckoned among the soldiers of Him that *f. 76 b 2* made me His own. As it is written, ‘Your reward is great in heaven<sup>1</sup>.’ For the honour which is thine [to give] is a phantom, and before God it is nothingness; but faith in God, and the honouring of His Name, and thanksgiving to His Majesty, shall make us heirs of the light of holiness and of life everlasting.’

And when the governor saw the strength of the faith of the martyr he commanded them to kill him, and he passed on him sentence, saying: ‘We commanded this soldier Minâs, a deserter who would not return to [the service of] the Emperor, and who would not sacrifice to the gods, to be punished; he shall now suffer the punishment of death. And because he would not obey, and worship the gods, we further command that they throw his body into the fire.’

And straightway they took the blessed martyr Minâs to the place of execution, and all the men of the city followed after him to see the martyrdom of the blessed Minâs, who marched to death rejoicing, with his face shining with light. And he was in the garb of the Christians, and he spake words of confidence to those who knew him, | and the apparel *f. 77 a 1* which was on him sang (?), and no temptation came upon him. Nay, he placed his confidence in God, and made supplication to Him, and he made haste to the doom which had been decreed concerning him, and he cried out upon Christ Who had made him ready for these beautiful things.

And Saint Minâs turned his face towards the heavens, and stretched his holy hands upwards, and, confessing His grace, said, ‘I give thanks unto Thee, O God of heaven, Jesus Christ, because Thou hast neither forsaken me, nor removed Thyself far from me, so that the enemy might destroy me, and because Thou hast given me the power not to deny Thy Holy Name. And now keep Thou me in this hour, and

<sup>1</sup> St. Matthew v. 12; St. Luke vi. 23.

grant me strength to endure to my end. And take Thou my soul unto Thyself, O my God Jesus Christ, and I will bow down to Thee always.' And having said these words, he came to the place of martyrdom, and he stretched out his neck quickly, and [the headsman] smote it with a sword, and his head rolled away from his body. And the guards carried away his holy body and cast it into the fire, and departed.

And there were there certain fellow soldiers of Saint Mînâs who were believers; now they were exceedingly many in number, and they put out the fire, and took his body | and his head, and placed them in a shroud made of costly linen and perfumed with many sweet scents. And they carried them into the house of one of their number, and placed them in a coffin with great joy, and they praised God Who had given him the power to endure. Now there was no trace of fire on his body. Thus was consummated his martyrdom on the fifteenth day of the month Khadâr<sup>1</sup> (i. e. November 11). And he departed to our Redeemer Jesus Christ, Who is the King in truth, to Whom be praise, and honour, and might, for ever and ever<sup>2</sup>. Amen.

This holy and blessed Mînâs, the precious martyr, was perfect in his strength, and in stature, and in faith, and in sweetness of disposition, from his youth up; and in his later years he was gentle, and merciful, and a lover of the poor and the stranger.

And after his martyrdom was consummated, as we have already said, a host of soldiers came to fight against the Five Cities, and the country was disturbed, with the borders thereof. And there came forth an order for a troop of soldiers to proceed from Phrygia, to fight against the men of Marcotis.

And 'Atnâsis (Athanasius) the governor wished to take the

<sup>1</sup> According to Krumbacher's text (p. 43) Mênâ was martyred in Kotyaion (*ἐν τῇ Κοτυαίῳ μητροπόλει*).

<sup>2</sup> Here the Greek texts of Krumbacher and the Bollandists end.

body of Saint Mînâs with him that it might be unto him a helper and a deliverer. And having opened the door [of the place] wherein his body was, there shone upon him a great light. And having hidden the body from the men so that they might not prevent him, | he carried it away, and took f. 77 b 1 it up into a ship, and departed.

And when they arrived in the sea which is between Africa and Alexandria, there appeared unto them in the water certain terrible beasts. Now they were the most terrifying; their necks were long and thick, and their faces were like unto the faces of camels. And they stretched out their necks towards the ship so that they might snatch out from it those who were therein. And arrows of fire went forth from the body of Saint Mînâs into their faces, and they fled and hid themselves in the sea. And they came back, and the arrows of fire again prevented them [from seizing the men]; and after this they bowed low before the Saint and departed. And all those who were in the ship marvelled, and they believed in God, and they glorified Mînâs the martyr, and gave thanks unto him because they had been saved through his body.

And after five days they came to the city of Alexandria, and they went forth from that place and took the body of Saint Mînâs the martyr with them. And they went up in the ship from Alexandria to the shore of the sea of Mareotis, where they fought a battle; and they made supplication to Saint Mînâs, and to his body, and he conquered the mighty men of war, and slew them through his entreaty, until they came to Mêtên on the border of | Mareotis.

f. 77 b 2

And when the governor wished to return to Phrygia he wanted to carry the body [of the saint] with him. And he placed it upon a camel, but the camel was unable to move with it, and he placed it on another camel, and the camel was unable to rise up; in this manner he placed it upon all the camels that were with him, and there was not one which

was able to carry it away<sup>1</sup>. And 'Atnâsîs (Athanasius) the governor was sorry, but he knew that this matter was from God, and he left the body there.

And he made a picture of Saint Mînâs the martyr on a wooden tablet, dressed as he had known him in the apparel of a soldier, with pictures of the beasts [of the sea] which resembled camels, at his feet, and they were worshipping him. And he laid that picture upon the body of Saint Mînâs, to obtain his prayers, and then he took it with him that it might be unto him a means of deliverance and a place of refuge on the sea and in war. And he made for his body a coffer of *shâg* wood, which neither becometh worm-eaten nor rotten, and he buried it in that place, and returned to his own country with his soldiers.

f. 78 a 1 Now God desired to make manifest this wonder and power through the body of Saint Mînâs. | And the lame son of a certain man of that country went and saw a lamp easting a light upon the place of the grave of Saint Mînâs the martyr, and he drew nigh thereto and threw himself down on the ground. Now there were certain strangers standing [there]. And the father of the youth was looking for his son, and when he found him there he beat him; and the youth leaped up and ran away in front of them, and his foot was healed, and the people who were there marvelled. Then the youth told them what he had seen, and God opened their eyes, and they saw the lamp burning, and they believed. And all the people who were suffering from divers diseases went forth to the grave of Abbâ Mînâs, and they were healed by the power of God, and by the petition of Saint Mînâs, and there was great joy there, and the fame of him was noised abroad beyond Marcotis. And all those who were there, both those who were sick and those who were possessed of devils, went to that place, and they were healed and recovered.

<sup>1</sup> The saint determined that his body should not leave his native country.

Then they built above his grave a church, which was like | unto a tent, and they hung up in it a lamp similar to that f. 78 a 2 which they had seen [over the grave], and at that time it burned both by day and by night, and it was fed with scented oil. And if any man took of the oil of that lamp, and carried it away to a distance, and anointed a sick person therewith, that sick person was healed forthwith of the disease from which he had been suffering.

And a church was built in that place in the name of the saint in the days of Saint Athanasius, Archbishop of Alexandria, by the help of Taôs, the God-loving king, so that the people might gather together to him, and celebrate festivals therein. And when it was finished, Saint . . . the Archbishop gathered together Bishops and priests, and they placed the body of Mînâs the martyr in it, and they consecrated it in the days of the holy Emperor Theodosius and Abbâ Theophilus the Archbishop. And there was built there a great church to the name of Mary, for the [use of the] multitudes of people who gathered together to the church of Saint Mînâs.

And the Emperor Zeno visited it during his reign, and he built houses there, and he commanded the soldiers to build their barracks there, and a fortress. | And, moreover, the f. 78 b 1 nobles of the country of Egypt built their palaces there, and they came thither at all times because of the multitude of signs which appeared there in the days of Timothy, the Archbishop. And at length a mighty city, with beautiful buildings, was completed there, and Zeno the Emperor called it . . . ; and an exceedingly large number of people dwelt there. And the righteous Emperor commanded that one hundred and twenty-three thousand fighting-men should guard it against foreign tribes; and they guarded both the church and the people who came thereto. And the Emperor commanded that their food should be provided by the people of Mareotis. And he commanded that those who came to the church should contribute a fixed sum for the maintenance

thereof, and that they should carry thereto the sick folk every year.

And it remained thus until the days of Herkaldes (Heracilius) the Emperor of Rome, through whom the Muḥammadans obtained power in the land of Egypt, and the people continued to go to the church of the saint and martyr from all parts of the country, and he made manifest unto them signs and wonders. And they brought unto him votive offerings, and he performed their wishes, and they came back rejoicing, and they were glad because of what he had done for them. And the fame of his signs, and works, and power, and of his f. 78 b 2 prayer to God reached unto the | borders of [all] countries. May he beseech God, our God and Redeemer Jesus Christ, to preserve us, and all the sons of baptism, through the prayers of Our Holy Lady, Mary the Virgin, and of all the saints and martyrs.

Here endeth the martyrdom of the holy Martyr Mînâs.

May God keep us through his prayers for ever. Amen.

## VII. THE MARTYRDOM OF SAINT MÍNÁS

## FROM THE ETHIOPIC SYNAXARIUM

(Oriental 860, fol. 66 b 1 ff.)

በስመ፡ አብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ [አሐዱ፡] አምሳክ፡ አመ፡  
 ፀሁዱ፡ ወኃመሱ፡ | ለኅዳር፡ በዛቲ፡ ዕለት፡ ከነ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ሚናስ፡ ሰማዕት፡ f. 66 b 2.  
 ዘበትርጓሜ፡ ስመ፡ ምእመን፡ ወቡዳክ፡ ወለዝንቱ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ከነ፡ አቡሁ፡  
 እምሰብአ፡ ሀገረ፡ ናቂዮስ፡ ወስመ፡ አውዶክዮስ፡ ወኮነ፡ ሥዩመ፡ ወመኩንነ፡  
 ወቀንዓ፡ ሳዕሌሁ፡ እኑሁ፡ ወአስተዋደዮ፡ ነበ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ለአውዶክዮስ፡ ወፈነዎ፡  
 ነበ፡ ሀገረ፡ አፍራቅዶ፡ ወህዋ፡ መኩንነ፡ ሳዕሌ፡ ይእቲ፡ ሀገር፡ ወተፈሥሑ፡  
 ቦቱ፡ ሰብአ፡ ይእቲ፡ ሀገር፡ እስመ፡ ውእቱ፡ ከነ፡ ብእሴ፡ መሐሬ፡ ወይፈርሀ፡  
 ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ወሰእመሰ፡ ለቅዱስ፡ ሚናስ፡ ኢኮነ፡ ሳቲ፡ ወልድ፡  
 ወበአሐቲ፡ ዕለት፡ ቦአት፡ ውስተ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ በበፀላ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡  
 ቅድስት፡ ድንገል፡ ማርያም፡ ወርእየተመ፡ ለውሉድ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡  
 እንዘ፡ ይሰብሱ፡ ሠናዩ፡ አልባሰ፡ ወይበውኡ፡ ውስተ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡  
 ወገዐረት፡ ወበከዩት፡ ቅድመ፡ ሥዕላ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ቅድስት፡ ድንገል፡  
 ማርያም፡ ወሰአሰታ፡ ከመ፡ ትስአሎ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ በእንቲአሃ፡ ከመ፡  
 የሀባ፡ ወልድ፡ ወወፀአ፡ ቃል፡ እምሥዕላ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ቅድስት፡ ድንገል፡  
 ማርያም፡ እንዘ፡ ይቤል፡ አሚን።

ወሰቤሃ፡ ሖረት፡ ይእቲ፡ ብእሴት፡ ነበ፡ ቤታ፡ ወነገረት፡ ለምታ፡ ውእተ፡  
 ቃላ፡ ዘሰምዓት፡ እምነበ፡ ሥዕላ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ማርያም፡ ወይቤላ፡ ምታ፡  
 ፈቃድ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ሰይኩን፡ ወእምድነረ፡ ነዳጥ፡ መዋዕል፡ ወሀባ፡  
 እግዚአብሔር፡ ዘነተ፡ ወልድ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ወሰመይዎ፡ ስሞ፡ ሚናስ፡ በከመ፡ ቃል፡  
 ዘሰምዓት፡ እምሥዕላ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ማርያም፡ ወሰባ፡ ለህቅ፡ ንስቲተ፡  
 መሀርዎ፡ መዳሕፍተ፡ ወትምህርተ፡ መንፈሳዊተ፡ ወሰባ፡ ከነ፡ ሎቱ፡  
 ፀሠርተ፡ ወአሐድ፡ ዓመተ፡ አዕረፈ፡ አቡሁ፡ በርስዕና፡ ሠናይ።

| ወእምድነሬሁ፡ በሠሰስቱ፡ ዓመት፡ አዕረፈት፡ እመ፡ ወተረፈ፡ ቅዱስ፡ f. 66 b 3.  
 ሚናስ፡ ባሕቲቱ፡ እንዘ፡ ይጸውም፡ ወይጹላ፡ ወእምብዝነ፡ ይፈቅርዎ፡  
 መኳንንት፡ ለአቡሁ፡ ወውእቱ፡ አያነድግ፡ አምልኮት፡ ሰክርስተስ፡ ወሰባ፡  
 ክሕድ፡ ድዮቅልጥደኖስ፡ አዘዘመ፡ ሰደሎመ፡ ሰብእ፡ ከመ፡ ይምልኩ፡  
 ጣዖተ፡ ወኮነ፡ ብዙነነ፡ ሰማዕታተ፡ በእንተ፡ ስመ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ አየሱስ፡

ክርስቶስ፡ ሎቹ፡ ስብሐት። ወውእት፡ ጊዜ፡ ነገገ፡ ሚናስ፡ ሚመተ፡ ወሐረ፡ ነበ፡ ገዳም፡ ወነበረ፡ ብዙኑ፡ መዋዕለ፡ እንዘ፡ ይትጋደል፡ ተጋድሎ፡ ዐቢዩ። ወበአሐቲ፡ ዕለተ፡ ርእዩ፡ ስማዩ፡ ርገው፡ ወለሰማዕታት፡ እንዘ፡ ይኬልልዎሙ፡ በአክሊሳት፡ ሠናደት፡ ወሰምዓ፡ ቃለ፡ ዘይብሎ፡ ዘጸመው፡ በእንተ፡ ስሙ፡ ለኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ሎቹ፡ ስብሐት፡ ይነሥእ፡ ዘንተ፡ አክሊሊ። ወተመይጠ፡ ነበ፡ ሀገር፡ ወተአምነ፡ በስሙ፡ ለኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ሎቹ፡ ስብሐት፡ ወሔጥዎ፡ ለብእ፡ ብዙኑ፡ እስመ፡ እሙንቹ፡ የአምሩ፡ ከመ፡ ውእቹ፡ ክቡደ፡ ዘመድ፡ ወተካዩደ፡ መኩንን፡ በኪዳናት፡ ክቡራት፡ ወብዙኑን። ወኢሰምዓ፡ ትእዛዘ፡ ወኢተመይጠ፡ እምክሩ፡ ሠናደት፡ ወሶቤሃ፡ አዘዘ፡ መኩንን፡ ከመ፡ ይኩንንዎ፡ ክነኔ፡ ዐቢዩ። ወሶቤ፡ ደክሙ፡ እምኩንኖቹ፡ አዘዘ፡ መኩንን፡ ከመ፡ ይምትሩ፡ ርእሶ፡ በሰይፍ፡ ወመተሩ፡ ርእሶ፡ ሶቤሃ፡ ወነሥኡ፡ አክሊሊ፡ ስምዕ፡ በመንግሥተ፡ ሰማደት። ወብዙኑን፡ ሰብእ፡ ኮኑ፡ ስምዓ፡ በእንቲአሁ፡ ወበእንተ፡ ስመ፡ እግዚእነ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ሎቹ፡ ስብሐት።

ወአዘዘ፡ መኩንን፡ ከመ፡ ይገሩ፡ ሥጋሁ፡ ለቅዱስ፡ ውስተ፡ እሳት፡ ወነሥእዎ፡ ሰብእ፡ መሃይምናን፡ ሥጋሁ፡ ለቅዱስ፡ እምውስተ፡ እሳት፡ ወኢሰክፎ፡ ወኢሰሐጦ፡ ወኢበጽሐ፡ ምንተኒ፡ እሙስና፡ ወገነዝዎ፡ በአልባስ፡

f. 67 a 1. ሠናደ፡ ወአንበርዎ፡ ውስተ፡ መካን፡ እስከ፡ ፍጻሜ፡ መዋዕለ፡ ስደት። ወበውእቹ፡ መዋዕል፡ ፈቀደ፡ ሰብእ፡ ሀገር፡ መርፍጥ፡ ከመ፡ ደስተጋብኡ፡ ትዕይንት፡ እምነ፡ ኃሥስቹ፡ አህጉር። ወነሥኡ፡ ሥጋሁ፡ ለቅዱስ፡ ሚናስ፡ ምስሌሆሙ፡ ከመ፡ ይኩን፡ ሎሙ፡ ረድኡት፡ ወይዕቀሶሙ፡ ውስተ፡ ፍኖት። ወእንዘ፡ እሙንቹ፡ ይነብሩ፡ ውስተ፡ ሐመር፡ ወምስሌሆሙ፡ ሥጋሁ፡ ለቅዱስ፡ ሚናስ። ወወፀኡ፡ አራዊት፡ እምውስተ፡ ባሕር፡ ዘገጸሙ፡ ከመ፡ ገጸ፡ አክደስት፡ ወክሳይሙ፡ ከመ፡ ገጸ፡ አግማል፡ ወኮኑ፡ ይሰፍሑ፡ ክሳይሙ፡ ነበ፡ ሥጋሁ፡ ለቅዱስ፡ ወይልሐስዎ፡ ወፈርሁ፡ ፍርሃተ፡ ዓቢዩ። ወወፀኡት፡ እምሥጋሁ፡ እሳት፡ ወአውዓየትው፡ ለገጸ፡ አራዊት፡ ወሶቤ፡ በጽሑ፡ ነበ፡ ሀገር፡ እስክንድርደ፡ ፈጸሙ፡ ግብርሙ፡ ወፈቀዱ፡ ይትመዩሉ፡ ነበ፡ ብሔርሙ፡ ወነሥሁ፡ ከመ፡ ይነሥኡ፡ ሥጋሁ፡ ለቅዱስ፡ ሚናስ፡ ምስሌሆሙ፡ ወሶቤ፡ ፀዓንዎ፡ ደበ፡ ገመል፡ ኢተንሥኡ፡ ውእቹ፡ ገመል፡ እምካኑ። ወካዕቤ፡ ፀዓንዎ፡ ደበ፡ ካልእ፡ ገመል፡ ወውእቹኒ፡ ኢተንሥኡ። ወዘበጥዎ፡ ዐቢዩ፡ ዝብጠተ፡ ወኢተሀውክ፡ ገሙራ። ወአእመሩ፡ ከመ፡ ዝንቹ፡ ፈቃደ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ወሐነጹ፡ ባዕሌሁ፡ መካኔ፡ ወቀበርዎ፡ ህዩ፡ ወሐሩ። ወፈቀደ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ከመ፡ ይክሥት፡ ሥጋሁ፡ ለቅዱስ፡ ሚናስ። ወሀሎ፡ በይእቲ፡ ገዳም፡ አሐዱ፡ ኖላዌ፡ አባገዕ፡ ወአሐቲ፡ ዕለት፡ ቦእ፡ አሓዱ፡ በገዕ፡ ዘይደዌ፡ ደዌ፡ ቊስል፡ ውስተ፡ ውእቹ፡ መካን፡ ወተጠምቀ፡ ህዩ፡ በማይ፡ ዘኮነ፡ ውእቹ፡ ዓዘቅት፡ ነበ ውእቹ፡ መካን፡ ወአንገርገር፡ ወተፈወሰ፡ ነቤሃ፡ ውእቹ፡ በገዕ። ወሶቤ፡ ርእዩ፡ ውእቹ፡

ኖላዊ፡ ዘንተ፡ ነገረ፡ ወዘንተ፡ ተአምረ፡ አንከረ፡ ፈድፋድ፡ ወደንገፀ። ወኮነ፡  
 ይነሥእ፡ እመሬተ፡ ውእቱ፡ መካን፡ ወደርንሶ፡ በማይ፡ ወይቀብዕ፡ ቦቱ፡  
 አባግ፡ ወሶብ፡ ይወድዩ፡ ደተፈወሱ፡ ባቲ፡ ሶቤሃ። ወኮነ፡ ይ|ገብር፡ f. 67 a 2.  
 ዘንተ፡ ክሎ፡ ጊዜ፡ ወኮነ፡ ይፈውሶሙ፡ ለክሎሙ፡ ደጢያን፡ እለ፡ ይመጽኡ፡  
 ንቤሁ፡ በዘንቱ፡ ግብር። ወሰም፡ ዜናሁ፡ ንጉሠ፡ ቍስጥንጥንደ፡ ወሀለወት፡  
 ሎቱ፡ ወሰት፡ ባሕቲታ፡ እንተ፡ ተደዊ፡ ደጭ፡ ቍስል፡ ወፈነዋ፡ ህዩ፡ ወኢተከህላ፡  
 ከወ፡ ትትግረቅ፡ እምአልባሲሃ፡ በቅድመ፡ ሰብእ። ወሰአሰት፡ ለውእቱ፡  
 ኖላዊ፡ እፎ፡ ይገብር፡ ወይፈውሶው፡ ለድጢያን፡ ወነገራ፡ ውእቱ፡ ኖላዊ፡  
 ዘከመ፡ ይገብር፡ ወነሥአት፡ መሬተ፡ እምውእቱ፡ መካን፡ ወአርጻሰት፡  
 በማይ፡ እምይእቲ፡ ግዘቅት፡ ወቀብግት፡ ቦቱ፡ ክሎ፡ ሥጋሃ፡ ወኖመት፡  
 ደእቲ፡ ሌሊተ፡ ውስተ፡ መካን። ወአስተርአይ፡ ባቲ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ሚናስ፡  
 ወይቤላ፡ ሶብ፡ ትትነሥእ፡ በጽባሕ፡ ክርዩ፡ ወትረከቢ፡ ሥጋዩ፡ ወሶቤሃ፡  
 ሐይወት፡ እምደጭ። ወሶብ፡ ተንሥአት፡ ወሐይወት፡ እምደጭ፡ አዘዘት፡  
 ከመ፡ ይክርዩ፡ ውስተ፡ ውእቱ፡ መካን፡ ወሶቤሃ፡ ረከበት፡ ሥጋሁ፡ ለቅዱስ፡  
 ሚናስ። ወተፈሥሐት፡ ፈድፋድ፡ ፀቢዩ፡ ፍሥሐ፡ ወፈነወት፡ ነብ፡ አሉሃ፡  
 ወአይድግት፡ ዘንተ፡ ግብረ፡ ወሐነጸ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ሳዕለ፡ ሥጋሁ፡ ቤተ፡  
 ክርስቲያን። ወተሐንጸት፡ ሎቱ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ሠናይተ፡ በውእቱ፡ መካን፡  
 በመዋዕሊሆመ፡ ለአርቃዴዎስ፡ ወአኖሬዎስ፡ ነገሥት፡ ጻድቃን፡ ወአዘዘ፡  
 ከመ፡ ይንንጸ፡ ሀገረ፡ ግባዩ፡ ወተሐንጸት፡ ሀገር፡ ፀባይ፡ በከመ፡ አዘዘ፡  
 ነገሥት፡ ጻድቃን፡ ወአንበሩ፡ ሥጋሁ፡ ለቅዱስ፡ ሚናስ፡ ውስተ፡ ደእቲ፡  
 ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ወኮነ፡ ደስተርአ፡ እምሥጋሁ፡ ተአምራት፡ ወመንክራት፡  
 ፀቢይት። ወኮነ፡ ክሎሙ፡ አሕዛብ፡ ይበውኡ፡ ውስተ፡ ደእቲ፡ ቤተ፡  
 ክርስቲያን፡ ወይትፈወሱ፡ እምደጭሆመ፡ ወኮነ፡ ተአምራተ፡ ወመንክራት፡  
 ደስተርአ፡ ውስተ፡ ደእቲ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን። ወቀን፡ ሰይጣን፡ ወሀከሙ፡  
 ለሰብአ፡ ሀገር፡ እኩያን፡ ወአንሀል|ዋ፡ ለቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ወተመዝበረት፡ f. 67 a 3.  
 ሀገር፡ ወአፍለሱ፡ ሥጋሁ፡ ለቅዱስ፡ ሚናስ። ወሐነጸ፡ ሎቱ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡  
 በህዩ፡ ካልአነ፡ ወአንበሩ፡ ሥጋሁ፡ ውስቲታ። ወኮነ፡ በህዩ፡ ተአምራተ፡  
 ወመንክራተ፡ ፀቢይት፡ ዘይፈደፍድ፡ እምቀዳሚ። በረከቱ፡ ትኩን፡ &c.

VIII. THE MARTYRDOM OF SAINT MÍNÁS  
FROM THE BOOK OF THE ACTS OF SAINTS  
AND MARTYRS

(Oriental 689, fol. 73 b ff.)

B f. 170 a 2. (fol. 73 b 1) ስምዕ: ዘቅዱስ: ስመስተጋድል: ሰማዕቶ: ለእግዚእነ:  
C f. 59 b 1. ኢየሱስ: ክርስቲስ: ሚናስ: ጸሎቶ: ተሀሉ: ምስሌነ: አሜን:

ወዝንቶ: ስምዕት: ብፁዕ: ሚናስ: ዘብሐረ: ግብጽ: እንተ: ስማ:  
ቂጥጥ: ስበሙ: ለመኩንን: ዘካዳ: ውስቴታ: ማኅደረ: ወአጽንፀ:  
አረፋቲሃ: ወስመ: አቡሁ: ለቅዱስ: ሚናስ: አውደክሲስ: ወስመ: እሙ:

B f. 170 b 1. አፎምደ: ወክርስቲያን: እሙንቶ: ወያፈቅርዎ: ሰብአ: ለአውደክሲስ:  
ወተንሥኡ: ለዕሌሁ: እኑሁ: (fol. 73 b 2) አጣልዮስ: ወኃበበ: ሎቶ:  
ኅበ: ሰብአ: አብራዮስ: ንጉሥ: ወሄጥ: ንጉሥ: ለአብራቂያ: ወባዕል:  
ውእቶ: ፈድፋድ: ወወሰደ: ንዋዮ: ወብእሲተ: እምእለ: እስክንድርደ:  
ለአብራቂያ: ወይቴክዙ: ምስለ: ብእሲቶ: እስመ: አልሶሙ: ውሉደ: ወእምዘ:  
ሖረት: ብእሲቶ: ኅበ: ቤተ: ክርስቲያን: አመ: በዓላ:

C f. 59 b 2. ለእግዚእነ: ማርያም: ወላዲተ: አምላክ: ኢየሱስ: ክርስቲስ:  
እግዚእነ: ቃለ: አብ: ዘሎቶ: ስብሐት: ለዓለመ: ዓለም: አሜን: ወርእየት:  
ለሰብእ: እንዘ: ደበውኡ: ደቂቆሙ: ክመ: ደትባረኩ: እምእግዚእነ:

B f. 170 b 2. ድንገል: ቅድስት: ወበክየት: ብካየ: መሪር: ወጸለየት: ወስአለት:  
ወአስተብቀሁት: [ወሰምዓት:] ቃለ: እምእግዚእነ: ዘይብል: አሜን: = ::  
ወእምዘ: ጸንሰት: ወወሰደት: ወሰደ: ወሰመየት: ሚናስ: እስመ:  
ነሥኡት: ለዝንቶ: ስም: እምአሚን: ወተፈሥሐ: አቡሁ: ወፈትሖሙ:  
ለባስያነ: እምቤተ: (fol. 74 a 1) ሞቅሕ: ወምጽዋተ: ብዙነ: ለነዳያን:  
ወሶበ: ልህቅ: መሀር: ዦሎ: ዘፈቀደ: ወዘይትፈቀደ: ጥበበ:  
ዘመጻሕፍተ: ዘመሰከት: ወይጸመድ: ጸመ: ወጸሎተ: ወሶበ: ካነ:

<sup>1</sup> B ዘቅዱስ: ውብፁዕ: ጽኑዕ:    <sup>2</sup> B ዝንቶ:    <sup>3</sup> B ቂጥጥ:    <sup>4</sup> B ዘካዳ:  
ወካዳ:    <sup>5</sup> B ማኅደረ:    <sup>6</sup> B አውደክሲስ:    <sup>7</sup> B ወቅንኡ:  
<sup>8</sup> B አንጣልዮስ:    <sup>9</sup> B ወኃበበ:    <sup>10</sup> B ኅበ: አብራዮስ:  
<sup>11</sup> B ለአብራቂያ:    <sup>12</sup> B ለአብራቂያ:    <sup>13</sup> B በዓላ: ለቅድስት:  
ድንገል: እግዚእነ:    <sup>14</sup> B አምላክ: ቃል:    <sup>15</sup> B እግዚእነ:  
ዘሎቶ: ስብሐት:    <sup>16</sup> B omits ዓለም:    <sup>17</sup> B omits.    <sup>18</sup> B መሪር:  
ብካየ:    <sup>19</sup> B ወአስተብቀሁት: ወሰምዓት: ቃለ:    <sup>20</sup> B ፀንስት:  
<sup>21</sup> B ወሰደ:    <sup>22</sup> B እምአሚን:    <sup>23</sup> B ሎቶ: አቡሁ:    <sup>24</sup> B ለአባሲያን:  
<sup>25</sup> B omits ዘፈቀደ:    <sup>26</sup> B መጻሕፍት:    <sup>27</sup> B ወይፀመድ:  
<sup>28</sup> B ወአመ: ካነ: ፀህረተ: ወአሐደ: ዓመቶ:



B f. 171 b 2. ደፈጽሙ፣ ትእዛዘ፣ ንጉሥ፣<sup>1</sup> እኩያን። ወሶቦ፣ ርእየ፣ | ቅዱስ፣ ሚናስ፣ ከማሁ፣ ሖረ፣ ገዳም፣ ወነበረ፣ ህየ፣ እንዘ፣ ይትቀይይ፣ ወይብል፣ እስመ፣ ርእኩ፣

C f. 60 a 1. ነጠአት፣ ወሙስና፣ ውስተ፣<sup>2</sup> ሀገር፣ (fol. 74 b 1) ወአር|ሐቁ፣ ጉዩየ፣<sup>3</sup> ወኅይጉ፣ እንከ፣<sup>4</sup> ወኅይርኩ፣ ገዳም፣ አንጾር፣<sup>5</sup> ለአምላኪየ፣ ወመድኅንየ፣<sup>6</sup> እየሱስ፣ ክርስቲስ። ወነበረ፣ ህየ፣ ብዙኅ፣ መዋዕለ፣ በዐቢየ፣<sup>7</sup> ምንዳቤ፣ እንዘ፣ የዐቅብ፣<sup>8</sup> ተፀምዶ፣ ወእምዞ፣ ኅይረ፣ ላዕሌሁ፣ ጸጋ፣ እግዚአብሔር፣ ወርእየ፣ ሰማየ፣ እንዘ፣ ይትረኅው፣<sup>9</sup> ወውስጡ፣ ምሉእ፣ መላእክተ፣ ብርሃን፣ እንዘ፣ ይጸውሩ፣ አክሊላተ፣ ብርሃን፣<sup>10</sup> ወያተብሩ፣ ደቦ፣ ርእሶሙ፣ ለእሊ፣ ፈጸሙ፣

B f. 172 a 1. ስምዖሙ፣ ወያዐርግምሙ፣<sup>11</sup> ውስተ፣ ሰማይ፣ በዐቢየ፣<sup>12</sup> ስብሐት፣ እንዘ፣ ይበርሁ፣ ከመ፣ ፀሐይ። ወፈተወ፣ ቅዱስ፣ ሚናስ፣ ይኩን፣ ሰማዕተ፣ በስሙ፣ ለእግዚእነ፣ እየሱስ፣ ክርስቲስ።=።

ወእንዘ፣ ይኔሉ፣<sup>13</sup> ዘንተ፣ ጸውዖ፣ ቃለ፣ እምሰማይ፣ ወይቤሉ፣ ብፀፀ፣ አንተ፣ ሚናስ፣<sup>14</sup> እስመ፣ ተጸዋዕከ፣ ወአስተርእየ፣ ሠናይ፣ ሕሊናከ፣ እምንእስከ፣ እስከ፣ የም። ወተነሥእ፣<sup>15</sup> አክሊሊ፣ ዘኢይማስን፣ በአምሰለ፣ ሥለሴ፣<sup>16</sup> ቅዱስ፣ ዘልህቅ፣ በፍቅርሙ። ሄበእገተ፣<sup>17</sup> ደንግልናከ፣ ወሄበእንተ፣<sup>18</sup> ተግላሦትከ፣ ወሄበእንተ፣<sup>19</sup> ስምዕከ። ወይከውን፣ ስምዕከ፣<sup>20</sup> እምብዙኃን፣

B f. 172 a 2. ሰማዕተ፣ ዐቢይ፣ ወይከ|ብር፣ ስምከ፣ ወይመጽኡ፣ ብዙኅን፣<sup>21</sup> አሕዛብ፣ እምክላሂ፣<sup>22</sup> ወይገይሱ፣<sup>23</sup> ኅቦ፣ ቤት፣ ክርስቲያንከ። እንተ፣ ትትላጽ፣<sup>24</sup> በምድረ፣ ግብጽ። ወኅይሊ፣ ይሬእዩ፣<sup>25</sup> (fol. 74 b 2) መንክር፣ ወተአምረ፣ ወፈውስ፣ ዘይከውን፣<sup>26</sup> እምሥጋከ፣ ቅዱስ። ወሶቦ፣ ስምዐ፣ ቅዱስ፣ ሚናስ፣<sup>27</sup> ተፈሥሐ። ወተነሥእ፣ ሶቤሃ፣ ወዐእ፣ ሀገር፣ እንዘ፣ ጉቡኣን፣ ከሐዲያን፣

C f. 60 a 2. ውስተ፣ ተውኔት፣ ወተላዕለ፣<sup>28</sup> በመንፈስ፣ ወአኅዘ፣ ይዘምር፣ | እንዘ፣ ሀለው፣ መኳንንት፣ ይንብሩ፣ ወክሉ፣ ሰብአ፣ ወይቤ፣ መጻእኩ፣ ኅቦ፣ እሊ፣ ተኅሥሠኒ፣<sup>29</sup> ወተራከብኩ፣ ለእሊ፣ ተስእሱኒ፣<sup>30</sup> በእንጉላየ።=።

B f. 172 b 1. ወአርመ|ሙ፣<sup>31</sup> ወደንገፀ፣ ወአንከሩ፣ እምገድሱ፣ ሶቦ፣ ርእይዖ፣

<sup>1</sup> B ነገሥት፣    <sup>2</sup> B ውስተ፣ ዛቲ፣    <sup>3</sup> B ጉዩየ፣    <sup>4</sup> B omits ወኅይጉ፣ እንከ፣  
<sup>5</sup> B እነጾር፣    <sup>6</sup> B ወመድኅንየ፣    <sup>7</sup> B በዓቢይ፣  
<sup>8</sup> B ይዓቅብ፣    <sup>9</sup> B ይትረኅው፣    <sup>10</sup> B ብሩሃን፣    <sup>11</sup> B ወያዐርግም፣  
<sup>12</sup> B ሰማየት፣ በዓቢይ፣    <sup>13</sup> B ይሔሊ፣    <sup>14</sup> B አሚናስ፣    <sup>15</sup> B ወተነሥእ፣  
 ሠለስተ፣ አክሊላተ፣    <sup>16</sup> B ሥላሴ፣    <sup>17</sup> B አሐይ፣ በእንተ፣  
<sup>18</sup> B ወአሐይ፣ በእንተ፣ ተግላሦትከ፣    <sup>19</sup> B ወአሐይ፣ በእንተ፣  
<sup>20</sup> B በእንተ፣ ስምዕከ፣ ዐቢየ፣ እምብዙኅን፣    <sup>21</sup> B omits ብዙኅን፣  
<sup>22</sup> B እምክላሂ፣    <sup>23</sup> B ወይገይሁ፣    <sup>24</sup> B ትትሐጽ፣ በስምከ፣ በምድረ፣  
<sup>25</sup> B ወይሬኢዩ፣ ኅይሊ፣    <sup>26</sup> B ዘይከውን፣    <sup>27</sup> B ሚናስ፣ ዘንተ፣ ተሐስየ፣  
 በዐቢይ፣ ፍሥሐ፣    <sup>28</sup> B ወተላዕለ፣    <sup>29</sup> B ኅሥሠኒ፣ ወተራከብኩ፣  
<sup>30</sup> B ኢተስእሱ፣    <sup>31</sup> B adds ክሉሙ፣

በአልባሰ፡ ክርስቲያን። ወይቤሎ፡ መስፍን፡ መቶ፡ አንተ፡ ወይቤ፡ ሚናስ፡  
 ቅዱስ፡<sup>1</sup> ገብኑ፡ በእግዚእየ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቲስ፡ ንጉሠ፡ ስሉ። ወይቤሎ፡  
 መስፍን፡ ነኪርኑ፡ አንተ፡ ወልድየ፡ ዘደፈርከ፡ ትባእ፡ ዘየ፡ በዘንቱ፡ አርአይ፡  
 ወትከልኦሙ፡ ለሕዝብ፡ እምነሆሙ፡<sup>2</sup> እምቅይሆሙ፡ በነገርከ። ወቦ፡ እሰ፡  
 አእመርዎ፡ ወይቤልዎ፡ ለመስፍን፡ ንሕነ፡ ነእምሮ፡ ለዘንቱ፡ ሐራዊ፡  
 ዘእምነብ፡ አውጣዲቆን።<sup>3</sup> ወይቤሎ፡ መስፍን፡ ሐራዊ፡<sup>4</sup> (fol. 75 a 1)  
 አንተ፡ ወይቤሎ፡ ሚናስ፡ እው፡ ትከትሰ፡ ሐራዊ፡ ወበእንተ፡ ክሐደትክሙ፡  
 ንደጉ፡ ወይቤሎ፡ መስፈን፡ በእንተ፡ ምን | ተ፡ ንደጉ፡ ለእመ፡ ኮንክ።<sup>5</sup> ነኪር፡ B f. 172 b 2.  
 ወአው፡<sup>6</sup> ክርስቲያናዊ። ወአዘዘ፡ መስፍን፡ ይሞቅሕዎ፡ ወበሳይታ፡ አምጽአ፡  
 ምስላ፡ ሕዝብ፡ ውስተ፡ መራሕብተ፡<sup>7</sup> ወይቤሎ፡ መስፍን፡<sup>8</sup> ክሐደ፡ እፎ፡  
 ደፈርከ፡ ትባእ፡ ውስተ፡ መርኅብ፡<sup>9</sup> ህየንተ፡ ተግግጽ፡<sup>10</sup> ክመ፡ ዘገብረ፡  
 ወአንሠርከሙ፡<sup>11</sup> ለገሥት፡ በብሂሎትክ፡ ክርስቲያናዊ፡ እነ። ንግረኒኬ፡  
 ይእኬ፡ በእንተ፡ ምን፡<sup>12</sup> ንደጋ፡ ክዌነ፡ ሐራ፡ ወአይቲ፡ ነበርከ፡ ዘንተ፡  
 መዋዕለ፡ ወእምአይቲ፡ መጻእክ። ወይቤሎ፡ ሚናስ፡ አንሰ፡ እምሰብአ፡  
 ብሔረ፡ ግብጽ፡ ወበእንተ፡ ዘፈቀድኩ፡ እኩን፡ ሐራ፡ ለንጉሥ፡ ሰማያዊ፡  
 ንደጉ፡ ዘንተ፡ መልእክተ፡<sup>13</sup> ሐላ፤ፊተ። ወይቤሎ፡ መስፍን፡ አይቲ፡ | B f. 173 a 1.  
 ሀለውክ፡ እስክ፡ የም። ወይቤሎ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ሚናስ፡ በእንተ፡ ፍቅረ፡ ክርስቲስ፡ C f. 60 a 3.  
 አብደርኩ፡ እንብር፡ ምስላ፡ አናብስት፡ በገጻም። እም፡ እትንጉል፡<sup>14</sup>  
 ምስላ፡ እሰ፡ ኢዮአምርዎ፡ (fol. 75 a 2) ለእግዚአብሔር። እስመ፡ ጽሑፍ፡  
 ኢትሐጉል፡<sup>15</sup> ምስላ፡ ኃጥአን፡<sup>16</sup> ለነፍስየ። ወእምስላ፡ ዕድወ፡ ደምሂ፡<sup>17</sup>  
 ለሕይወትየ፡ እሰ፡ ዓመፍ፡<sup>18</sup> ውስተ፡ እደዊሆሙ። ወይቤሎ፡ መስፍን፡  
 ሠዕ፡<sup>19</sup> ይእኬ፡ ለአማልክት፡<sup>20</sup> ወንንደግ፡ ሰክ፡ ጌጋይክ፡ እንዘ፡ ሐራዊ፡  
 አንተ፡ ወሐደገ፡ ሐራዊ፡<sup>21</sup> ወተሰመይክ፡ ርእስክ፡ ክርስቲያናዊ።<sup>22</sup> መሐክ፡  
 አብእሲ፡ ሕይወትክ፡ ወቅራብ፡ | ወሠዕ፡ ለአማልክት፡ ወግባእ፡ ነብ፡ B f. 173 a 2.  
 ሢመትክ፡ ወቅራብ፡<sup>23</sup> ወዕቀብ፡ ርእስክ፡ እምነኑ። ወይቤ፡<sup>24</sup> ቅዱስ፡ አንሰ፡  
 አፈቅር፡ አስምሮ፡<sup>25</sup> ለንጉሠ፡ ነገሥት፡ ወእጸውር፡<sup>26</sup> እምጎቤሆ፡ አክሲላ፡  
 ግዕዛን፡ እሞት። ኢዮምስልክ፡ ዘታገብአደ፡<sup>27</sup> በትግርምትክ። እስመ፡

<sup>1</sup> B ቅዱስ፡ ሚናስ፡ እነ፡ ገብኑ፡ ለኢየሱስ፡      <sup>2</sup> B omits this word.  
<sup>3</sup> B አውጣዲቆን፡      <sup>4</sup> B መሥፍን፡ ሐራዊ፡ አንተ። ወይቤ፡ ሚናስ፡  
<sup>6</sup> B ኢኮንክ፡      <sup>6</sup> B አው፡ ክርስቲያናዊ፡      <sup>7</sup> B መርሕብ፡      <sup>8</sup> B omits  
 this word.      <sup>9</sup> B መርሕብ፡      <sup>10</sup> B ትግግጽ፡      <sup>11</sup> B ገብር፡  
 ወአንሰርከሙ፡      <sup>12</sup> B ለምንት፡ ንደገ፡      <sup>13</sup> B መልእክተ፡ ግላፊተ፡  
<sup>14</sup> B እምእትሐጉል፡      <sup>15</sup> B ኢትሐጉል፡      <sup>16</sup> B ነጥአን፡      <sup>17</sup> B omits ሂ  
<sup>18</sup> B ዐመፍ፡      <sup>19</sup> B ሠዕኩ፡      <sup>20</sup> B ለአማልክት፡      <sup>21</sup> B ዘንደገ፡  
 ሐራክ፡ ወሰመይክ፡      <sup>22</sup> B ዌ፡      <sup>23</sup> B omits this word.  
<sup>24</sup> B ወይቤሎ፡      <sup>25</sup> B አምሮ፡      <sup>26</sup> B ወእጸር፡      <sup>27</sup> B adds  
 ነብ፡ ዘትፈቀድ፡

ለቀሰልኩ፡ ክፍሉ፡<sup>1</sup> በእንተ፡ ዘቀናክኩ፡<sup>2</sup> ለእግዚእ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡  
 ወይቤሎ፡<sup>3</sup> መስፍን፡ ሰሐብዎ፡<sup>4</sup> ወእሰርዎ፡ እንተ፡ ፬፡<sup>5</sup> ገጽ፡ ወቅሥፍዎ፡  
 በጥብጣቤ፡ ዘላህም፡ ወበልዎ፡ እንዘ፡ ሐራዊ፡ አንተ፡ ግበእ፡ ኅብ፡  
 ትእዛዘ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ወይቤ፡ ብፁዕ፡ ሚናስ፡ ይንደሰኒ፡<sup>6</sup> እኩን፡ ሐራ፡|

B f. 178 b 1. ወእትመየጥ፡ ኅብ፡ ትእዛዘ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ዘይዐቢ፡<sup>7</sup> ንጉሥ፡  
 ወሰቤፕ(fol. 75 b 1)ቀሠፍ፡ ዐቢዩ፡ [መ]ቅሥፈተ፡ እስከ፡ መልክ፡<sup>8</sup> ምድር፡  
 ኅብ፡ ተንተ፡ ተነጽሐ፡ ወይቤሎ፡ መስፍን፡ ሠዕ፡<sup>9</sup> ለአማልክት፡ ጵብእሴ፡<sup>10</sup>

C f. 60 b 1. እምቅድመ፡ ይትነተፍ፡ በጥብጣቤ፡<sup>11</sup> ሥጋክ፡ ፈደፈደ፡ | እምዘንቸ፡  
 ወይቤሎ፡ ሚናስ፡<sup>12</sup> አመምክረ፡ ዐመዳ፡ አንሰ፡ ኢይትመየጥ፡ በክፍሉ፡  
 እኩዩ፡ ሐርኬ፡ እስመ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ረዳኢዩ፡ ዘይክል፡ ይሬስይ፡ ለክፍሉ፡<sup>13</sup>  
 ፈውሱ፡ ወይቤሎ፡ መስፍን፡ በግዘፈ፡ ልቡ፡ ዳግመ፡ ቅሥፍዎ፡ ወስቅልዎሂ፡<sup>14</sup>

B f. 178 b 2. ደብ፡ ዕፁ፡ ወንትፉ፡ ሥጋሁ፡ ይቤሎ፡<sup>15</sup> መስፍን፡ | ደንጋፀክኑ፡ ሚናስ፡ በዘንተ፡  
 ክፍሉ፡ ወተፀውቀክኑ፡ ዝንቸ፡ መፍሥጸረ፡ ወመቀሠፍት፡<sup>16</sup> ወይቤሎ፡  
 ቅዱስ፡ ይመስለክኑ፡ ዘትስሐብ፡ ሕሊናዩ፡ በዘንቸ፡ ክፍሉ፡ እስመ፡ ኃራሁ፡<sup>17</sup>  
 ለክርስቶስ፡ አነ፡<sup>18</sup> ወይረድኦኒ፡<sup>19</sup> በዘእጸገዕ፡ ወይቤ፡ መስፍን፡ ኩንንዎ፡  
 ካዕብ፡ ወበልዎ፡ ለእመ፡ ብክ፡ ንጉሠ፡ ካልኦ፡ አርኢ፡ ንጉሥክ፡ ወይቤሎ፡  
 ሚናስ፡ ትጸርፍኑ፡<sup>20</sup> እኩብደ፡ ለንጉሠ፡ ሰማይ፡ ወይቤሎ፡ መስፍን፡ መኑ፡  
 ውእቸ፡ አምላክ፡ ዘትብል፡ ኢይአምር፡<sup>21</sup> ወይቤሎ፡ ብፁዕ፡ ሚናስ፡ ውእቸ፡  
 ኢየሱስ፡ ወልደ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ሕደው፡ ቀዳሚ፡ (fol. 75 b 2) ፈጣሪ፡<sup>22</sup>

B f. 174 a 1 አሎ፡ ወይቤሎ፡ መስፍን፡ ኢይአምርክኑ፡ ከመ፡ ተምፁ፡ | ነገሥተ፡ በእንተ፡  
 ክርስቶስ፡ ወአዘዘ፡<sup>23</sup> ይትኩኑ፡ ክሎ፡<sup>24</sup> ዘይቤክር፡ ለክርስቶስ፡<sup>25</sup>  
 ወለምንትኑ፡<sup>26</sup> በተጋንዮ፡ ለስሙ፡ =።

ወይቤሎ፡ ሚናስ፡<sup>27</sup> እመ፡ ተምፁ፡ ለዕቢዩ፡<sup>28</sup> አንሰ፡ እፈቅድ፡ እዕቀቦ፡  
 ለዘንቸ፡ ተጋንዮ፡ ለዘሉፉ፡ ወአድኅን፡ እምዘንቸ፡ ዓለም፡ ካንቸ፡ እስመ፡  
 C f. 60 ጽሑፍ፡ ዘይብል፡<sup>29</sup> | መኑ፡ ይክልኦ፡ ፍቅር፡ ለክርስቶስ፡ ሐዘንኑ፡ ምንዳቤኑ፡  
 ተፀናስኑ፡ ዕርቀንኑ፡<sup>30</sup> አእምር፡ ከመ፡ አልቦ፡ ዘይክል፡ መዊት፡ ለክርስቶስ፡<sup>31</sup>

<sup>1</sup> B ክሎ፡ ክፍሉ፡      <sup>2</sup> B ዘንገደኩ፡ ለአምላክኑ፡      <sup>3</sup> B ወይቤ፡  
<sup>4</sup> B ስፍሐዎ፡      <sup>5</sup> B አርባዕቸ፡      <sup>6</sup> B ይ-ኔይሰኒ፡      <sup>7</sup> B ክርስቶስ፡  
 ዘዩዐቢ፡ ንጉሥ፡      <sup>8</sup> B መልክ፡ ደሙ፡ ምድረ፡ ኅብ፡ ተነፀኅ፡      <sup>9</sup> B ሠዕ፡  
<sup>10</sup> B ጵብእሴ፡      <sup>11</sup> B በጥብጣቤ፡      <sup>12</sup> B ብፁዕ፡ ሚናስ፡ አመካራ፡  
<sup>13</sup> B ይረስይ፡ ለዛቲ፡ ክፍሉ፡      <sup>14</sup> B omits ሂ      <sup>15</sup> B ወእንዘ፡ ይነተፍዎ፡  
 ይቤሎ፡      <sup>16</sup> B ወተፀውቀክኑ፡ ዝንቸ፡ መቅሠፍት፡ ወይቤሎ፡      <sup>17</sup> B ሐራሁ፡  
<sup>18</sup> B omits አነ፡      <sup>19</sup> B ይረድኦኒ፡      <sup>20</sup> B ትፀርፍኑ፡      <sup>21</sup> B ኢታአምር፡  
<sup>22</sup> B ፈጣሪ፡      <sup>23</sup> B ወአዘዘ፡      <sup>24</sup> B ክሎ፡      <sup>25</sup> B omits this word.  
<sup>26</sup> B ወለምንት፡ ትጸገዕ፡      <sup>27</sup> B ቅዱስ፡ ሚናስ፡      <sup>28</sup> B ሚላዕሴዩ፡  
<sup>29</sup> B omits this word,      <sup>30</sup> B ዕርቃንኑ፡      <sup>31</sup> B ለጉብረ፡

ወይሌሎ፡ መስፍን፡ ናሁ፡ ተደለውክ፡ ለሐኑ፤ ከመዘ፡ ይትኳንን፤<sup>1</sup> በሥጋ፡ ሰብእ፡<sup>2</sup> ባዕድ፡፡ ወይሌሎ፡ ሚናስ፡ በአማን፡ ኢይሰምዓይ፤<sup>3</sup> ኩነክ፡ እስመ፡ ብዩ፡ ኢዮሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ዘይረድአይ፡ በሐሎ፤<sup>4</sup> ጊቤ፡፡ ወውእቱ፡ ደረድሕመ፡ B f. 174 a 2. ለእለ፡ ደፈርህዎ፡ በሐሎ፡ ነበ፡ እንተ፡ ይኔይሶመ፡፡ ወይሌ፡ መስፍን፡ አምጽኡ፡ ነቤዩ፡ እሳተ፡ ዘይንበሉብል፡ ከመ፡ እማእ፡ ግዘፈተ፤<sup>5</sup> (fol. 76 a 1) ልቡ፡ ወአይክም፡ ኃይሎ፡፡<sup>6</sup> ወሶበ፡ አምጽኡ፡ እሳተ፡ ነበ፡ ሥጋሁ፡ ወነበረ፡ በሕቁ፡ እንዘ፡ ደውዲ፡ ሥጋሁ፡ ወኢተግወቆ፡፡<sup>7</sup>

ወይሌሎ፡ መስፍን፡ አሚናስ፡ ኢተፀወቀክኑ፤<sup>8</sup> እሳት፡፡ ወይሌሎ፡<sup>9</sup> ቅዱስ፡ ሚናስ፡ እግዚእዩ፡ ኢዮሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ውእቱ፡ ያጸንዓይ፡ እስመ፡ ጽሑፍ፡ እመ፡ ወይቃት፤<sup>10</sup> ውስተ፡ እሳት፡ ኢዮውዕክ፡፡ ወመጸሐፍት፡ ቅዱስ፡ ይብል፡<sup>11</sup> ኢትፍርህዎመ፡ ለእለ፡ ይቀትሉክመ፡<sup>12</sup> ሥጋክመ፡|ለነፍስክመሰ፡<sup>13</sup> A f. 174 b 1. ኢይክሉ፡ ቃቲሎታ፤<sup>14</sup> ፍርህዎሰ፡ ለዘይክል፡ ነፍስሂ፡ ወሥጋሂ፡<sup>15</sup> አሕዮሎ፡ በውስተ፡ ገሃነም፡ እሳት፡፡<sup>16</sup> ወይሌሎ፡ መስፍን፡ እንዘ፡ ሐራዊ፡<sup>17</sup> አንተ፡ ተአምር፡<sup>18</sup> ዘንተ፡ መጸሐፍተ፡፡<sup>19</sup>

ወይሌ፡ ብፀዕ፡ ሚናስ፡ ይቤ፡ እግዚእዩ፡ ኢዮሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ሶበ፡ ይወስዱክመ፡ ነበ፡ ነገሥት፡ ወመኳንንት፡ ኢትሐልዮ፡ ዘትበሉ፡ እስመ፡ ይትወሀበክመ፡ ሶቤሃ፡ ዘትነብሉ፡<sup>19</sup> ወይሌሎ፡ መስፍን፡<sup>20</sup> አእመርክኑ፡<sup>21</sup> C f. 60 b 3. ክርስቶስክመ፡ ከመ፡ ሀለወክመ፡ ትሐምመ፡<sup>22</sup> ዘንተ፡ ሕማመ፡፡ ወይሌሎ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ሚናስ፡ እስመ፡ ውእቱ፡ (fol. 76 a 2) አምላክ፡ ዘበአማን፡<sup>23</sup> አእመረ፡ ዘይመጽእ፡ እምቅደመ፡ ይኩን፡፡ ወ|ይሌሎ፡ መስፍን፡ ነድግ፡ B f. 17 : b 2. ይእዘ፡ ዘንተ፡ ወሁዕ፡ ለአማልክት፡ ወሖር፡ ነበ፡ ሲመትክ፡ ወዕቀብ፡ ሐራክ፡፡ ወይሌሎ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ሰማዕቱ፡<sup>24</sup> ለክርስቶስ፡ አንሱ፡ ሐራሁ፡ ለንጉሥ፡ ሰማደዊ፡ በከመ፡ ነገርኩክ፡ ቅዳሚ፡<sup>25</sup> ግብረ፡ ዘንተ፡ ዘትፈቅደ፡፡ እስመ፡ ምቹናኒክ፡<sup>26</sup> ላዕላ፡ ሥጋዩ፡ ወነፍስዩሰሂ፡<sup>27</sup> ወሥጋዩ፡<sup>28</sup> ዘይመልኮ፡ አምላኪዩ፡<sup>29</sup> ነገሥ፡ ሰማደዊ፡፡<sup>30</sup>

ወይሌሎ፡<sup>30</sup> መስፍን፡ ትፈቅድኑ፡ እትነገሥክ፡<sup>31</sup> ክልኤወ፤ መጥዕለ፡

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<sup>1</sup> B ትትኩንን፡                   <sup>2</sup> B omits this word.                   <sup>3</sup> B ኢይሰመዓይ፡  
<sup>4</sup> B በሐሎ፡                   <sup>5</sup> B ግዘፈ፡                   <sup>6</sup> B ነይሎ፡                   <sup>7</sup> B ወኢተግወቆ፡  
<sup>8</sup> B ኢተግወቀክኑ፡           <sup>9</sup> B ወይሌ፡                   <sup>10</sup> B ወደቁ፡                   <sup>11</sup> B ወዓዲ፡ ቅዱስ፡  
መጽሐፍ፡ ይቤ፡                   <sup>12</sup> B omits ክመ፡                   <sup>13</sup> B ወነፍሰሰ፡ እምእለ፡  
<sup>14</sup> B ቃቲሎ፡ አላ፡ ፍርህዎ፡           <sup>15</sup> B ነፍሰ፡ ወሥጋ፡                   <sup>16</sup> B ውስተ፡ እሳተ፡  
ገሃነም፡፡                   <sup>17</sup> B ሐራዊ፡                   <sup>18</sup> B እፎ፡ ታአምር፡                   <sup>19</sup> B በይእቲ፡  
ሰዓት፡ ዘትነብሉ፡                   <sup>20</sup> B omits this word.                   <sup>21</sup> B አእመረኩ፡  
<sup>22</sup> B ትሐምመ፡                   <sup>23</sup> B በአማን፡                   <sup>24</sup> B ወሰማዕቱ፡                   <sup>25</sup> B ቀዳመ፡  
<sup>26</sup> B ምቹናንክ፡                   <sup>27</sup> A omits ሂ                   <sup>28</sup> B ወሐሲናዩ፡                   <sup>29</sup> B omits  
this word.                   <sup>30</sup> B ይሌሎ፡                   <sup>31</sup> B እትነገሥክ፡ ክልኤ፡ ወሠሉሰ፡

ከመ፡ ተሐሊ፡ በምክርክ፡ ወተዕርፍ፡ እምዝንቱ፡ እባድ፡<sup>1</sup> ዘረከበከ።  
 ወይቤሉ፡ ሚናስ፡ አእምርኩ፡ ምክርዩ፡ ብዙን፡ ዕሰት፡ ከመ፡ ኢይክሐይ፡ |

B f. 175 a 1. ሰአምላክ፡ ሰማየ፡ ወምድር። ጎሊ፡<sup>2</sup> አንተ፡ ከመ፡ ጎሊ፡ ሠሉሰ፡ መዋዕሊ፡  
 ወመጸእኩክ፡ ይእኩ፡ እንዘ፡ አእምን፡<sup>3</sup> ከመ፡ ክርስቲያናዊ። ወአ፡  
 ኢይሠውዕ፡ ሰአማልክት፡<sup>4</sup> ወኢይሰምዐክ፡ ባዕደ። ወተምዐ፡ መስፍን፡  
 ወአዘዘ፡ ያምጽኡ፡ አስዋክ፡ ጎዲን፡<sup>5</sup> በላሕት፡ ወይትክልዎ፡ ደባ፡ ምድር፡  
 ወይእስርዎ፡ ክሳዩ፡ ወሥዕርት፡ ወይስሐብዎ፡ በላዕሊ፡<sup>6</sup> ውእቱ፡ ኃዲን።  
 ወተዐገሰ፡<sup>7</sup> ቅዱስ፡ ሚናስ፡ (fol. 76 b 1) በዝንቱ፡<sup>8</sup> ኢክህሊ፡ መስፍን፡  
 ኢይክህሊ፡<sup>9</sup> አሚኒ፡ ጽድቅ፡ በኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ። ወይቤሉ፡ ሰመስፍን፡

C f. 61 a 1. ሰእመ፡ አድጎክ፡<sup>10</sup> ኩንዎ፡ ትየ፡ አእኩይ፡<sup>11</sup> በዘየዐሊ፡ እምዝንቱ፡  
 B f. 175 a 2. ኩ፡ | ኔ፡ ኢይክሐይ፡ ሰእግዚእየ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡<sup>12</sup> አምላኪዩ፡ ወኢይሠውዕ፡  
 ሰአጋንነት፡ ወኢይገብር፡ ፈቃዶ፡<sup>13</sup> ሰአሱክ፡ ሰይጣን። ወይቤሉ፡ መስፍን፡  
 ሰእሰሂ፡<sup>14</sup> አዘዘመ፡ ይኩንንዎ፡ ንጽሕዎ፡<sup>15</sup> ወእስፋ፡ እብነ፡ ውስተ፡ ክሳዱ፡  
 ወዘብጥዎ፡ እስመ፡ ሰመዮሙ፡ ሰአማልክት፡ [አጋንነት፡]። =።

ወእንዘ፡ ይዘብጥዎ፡ ይቤሉ፡<sup>16</sup> መስፍን፡ ዝብጥዎ፡ ገበዋቲሁ፡ እስመ፡  
 እሬእዮ፡ ይትዐገሰ፡<sup>17</sup> ድኑይ። ወውእቱሰ፡ እንዘ፡ ይዘብጥዎ፡ ያረምም፡  
 ወኢይነብብ፡<sup>18</sup> ወይነብር፡ ኧ፡ እምኔሆሙ፡ ዘስመ፡ ሀብተ፡ ፀሐይ፡  
 ወይቤሉ፡<sup>19</sup> ብፀዕ፡ ሰመስፍን፡ ኢታአምርኑ፡ ከመ፡ ዘመደ፡ ክርስቲያን፡

B f. 175 b 1. ኢይገብሉ፡ ድጎር፡<sup>20</sup> ወሶባ፡ ይ፡ ትኳኑ፡<sup>21</sup> ይትጎገሡ፡ እስመ፡ ሞት፡  
 ይኔይስ፡ በጎቤሆሙ፡ እምሕይወት። ሀሱኬ፡<sup>22</sup> ፍትሐ፡ ሞት፡ ወኢትጸሙ፡  
 ሰክኑ። =።<sup>23</sup>

ወይቤሉ፡ መስፍን፡ አሚናስ፡ ሠዕ፡ ሰአማልክት፡ ወአክብረከ።  
 ወይቤሉ፡<sup>24</sup> ቅዱስ፡ ሚናስ፡<sup>25</sup> ሰይኩን፡ ክብርክ፡ ሰሰብእ፡ ሐጉል። ወአንሰ፡  
 ድልው፡ እንሣእ፡ ክብር፡ ዘጽኑሕ፡ ሲተ፡ (fol. 76 b 2) ወእትሐለቀሁ፡<sup>26</sup>  
 ሐራሁ፡ ሰዘረሰየኒ፡ ዚአሁ። በከመ፡ ጽሑፍ፡ ዘይብል፡<sup>27</sup> ብዙን፡ ዐሥብክሙ፡<sup>28</sup>  
 በሰማይ፡ እስመ፡ ክብር፡ ዘዚአክ፡<sup>29</sup> አርአይ፡ ውእቱ፡ ወበጎባ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡  
 ካንት፡<sup>30</sup> ውእቱ፡ ወበአማን፡ በእግዚአብሔር፡ ወአክብረ፡<sup>31</sup> ስሙ፡ ግደ፡<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> B ዕባድ፡                   <sup>2</sup> B ሐሊ፡                   <sup>3</sup> B እትአመን፡                   <sup>4</sup> B ሰአጋንነት፡  
 ወኢይሰምዓክ፡                   <sup>5</sup> B ጎዲን፡                   <sup>6</sup> B ላዕሊ፡                   <sup>7</sup> B ጎዳውን፡ ወተዐገሠ፡  
<sup>8</sup> B በዝንቱ፡ ወኢክህሊ፡                   <sup>9</sup> B ይክልኦ፡                   <sup>10</sup> B አናኅክ፡                   <sup>11</sup> B አእኩይ፡  
<sup>12</sup> B ሰእግዚአብሔር፡                   <sup>13</sup> B ፈቃዶ፡                   <sup>14</sup> B ሰእሰ፡                   <sup>15</sup> B ንፀጎንዎ፡  
<sup>16</sup> B ይቤ፡                   <sup>17</sup> B ይትዐገሥ፡                   <sup>18</sup> B ወይቤ፡ አሐዱ፡ ብእሲ፡  
 እምውስቴትሙ፡ ዘስመ፡                   <sup>19</sup> B omits this word,                   <sup>20</sup> B ድጎሬሁ፡  
<sup>21</sup> B ይትኳኑ፡ ይትዐገሰ፡                   <sup>22</sup> B ሀሱኬ፡                   <sup>23</sup> B ሰክኑሁ፡  
<sup>24</sup> B ወይቤ፡                   <sup>25</sup> B omits this word.                   <sup>26</sup> B ወእትኖለቀሁ፡  
<sup>27</sup> B omits this word.                   <sup>28</sup> B ዐስብክሙ፡ በሰማይት፡                   <sup>29</sup> B ዘዚደ፡  
<sup>30</sup> B ክንቱ፡ ወአሚንሰ፡                   <sup>31</sup> B አክብር፡                   <sup>32</sup> B ወገደ፡

ለዕባዩ፡ ወእሙንቱ፡<sup>1</sup> ደረስዩ፡ ወራሲዮን፡<sup>2</sup> ብርሃን፡ ቅዱስ፡ ወሕይወት፡  
 ለዘሉ፡ ወ|ርእዮ፡ መስፍን፡ ጸ|ንዐ፡<sup>3</sup> ሃይማኖት፡ ለሰማዕት፡<sup>4</sup> ወአዘዘ፡ B f. 175 b 2.  
 ደቅትልዎ፡ ወአውጽእ፡<sup>5</sup> ላዕሌሁ፡ ፍትሕ፡ ዘይብል፡ ንሕነሰ፡<sup>6</sup> ንኤዘዘ፡ C f. 61 a 2.  
 ለዘንቱ፡ ሐራዊ፡ ሚናስ፡ አባሲ፡ ዘኢተመይጦ፡ ሰንጉሥ፡ ወኢሦዐ፡  
 ለአማልክት፡ ከመ፡ ደስድድዎ፡<sup>7</sup> ወይሲድዎ፡ ለዙሃይ፡ ሞት፡ እስመ፡ ኢሰምዐ፡  
 ደትቀይይ፡ ለአማልክት፡ ንኤዘዘ፡<sup>8</sup> ከዕባሂ፡<sup>9</sup> ደገሩ፡ ሥጋሁ፡<sup>10</sup> ውስተ፡ እሳት፡  
 ወሶቤሃ፡ ወሲድዎ፡ ለብፀዕ፡ ሰማዕት፡ ሚናስ፡ ንብ፡ መካነ፡ ቀትል፡  
 ወተሰውዎ፡ ድሎመ፡ ሰብአ፡ ሀገር፡ ደርአዩ፡ ስምዎ፡ ለብፀዕ፡<sup>11</sup> ሚናስ፡  
 ወኃዊርት፡<sup>12</sup> ንብ፡ ሞት፡ እንዘ፡ ደትኑሠይ፡<sup>13</sup> በብፋህ፡ ገጽ፡ ወሀሎ፡  
 በአርአይ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ወይነግ|ርመ፡ አሚነ፡ ለእሰ፡ የአምርዋ፡ B f. 176 a 1.  
 (fol. 77 a 1) ወደአምርዎመ፡<sup>14</sup> ወልሱሰ፡ ደኔሲ፡<sup>15</sup> ዘበላዕሱ፡ ወአልዐ፡  
 ዘረከዐ፡ መከራ፡<sup>16</sup> አሰ፡ ተወከሰ፡ በእግዚአብሔር፡ ወሰአሰ፡ ንቤሁ፡  
 ወአስተፋጠነ፡ ለፍትሕ፡ ዘአዘዘ፡<sup>17</sup> ላዕሌሁ፡ ወጸውዎ፡ ለክርስቶስ፡ ዘረሰዮ፡  
 ድልወ፡ ለዘንቱ፡ ሠናደት፡::::

ወአንቀፅደወ፡<sup>18</sup> ገጽ፡ ውስተ፡ ሰማይ፡ ወሰፍሐ፡ እደዊሁ፡ ቅዱሳት፡ ላዕሰ፡  
 ተአሚዮ፡ ጸጋሁ፡ ወይቤ፡ በቃል፡ አአዙተክ፡ [አ]አምላክ፡ ሰማይ፡ ኢየሱስ፡  
 ክርስቶስ፡ እስመ፡ ኢገደጋይ፡<sup>19</sup> ወኢርሕቃ፡ እምነዩ፡ ከመ፡ ኢደሕጉሰይ፡<sup>20</sup>  
 ጸላኤ፡ አላ፡ ወሀብከይ፡<sup>21</sup> ግዕዝ፡ ከመ፡ ኢደክሕይ፡ ስምክ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ወደእኔ፡<sup>22</sup>  
 ዕቀባይ፡ በዛቲ፡ ሰዓት፡<sup>23</sup> ወሀባይ፡ ትዕግሥተ፡ ለተፍጻሚትዩ፡ ወ|ተወከፋ፡ B f. 176 a 2.  
 ለነፍስዩ፡ ንቤክ፡ አምላክዩ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ወእስግድ፡ ለክ፡ በድሉ፡  
 ጊኔ፡ ወዘንተ፡ ነገረ፡ ብሂሎ፡ በጽሐ፡ [ንብ] መካነ፡ | ስምዕ፡ ወመጠወ፡ C f. 61 a 3.  
 ክሳዩ፡ ፍጡነ፡ ወዘበጥዎ፡ በሰይፍ፡ ወተፈልጠ፡ ርእሱ፡ እምሥጋሁ፡  
 ወጸርዎ፡ ሰገራት፡ ሥጋሁ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ወወረወዎ፡ ውስተ፡ እሳት፡ ወሶሩ፡  
 ወሀሰው፡ ህዩ፡ ዕደው፡ ቢጽ፡ ሐራ፡ እሰ፡ የአምኑ፡ [ወ]ብዙኃን፡ ፈድፈድ፡  
 ወአጥፍለዎ፡ ለእሳት፡ ወነሥኡ፡ ሥጋሁ፡ (fol. 77 a 2) ወርእሱ፡ ወወሲድዎ፡  
 ውስተ፡ መገነዝ፡<sup>24</sup> በአልባሰ፡ ክሱር፡ ወአፈዋተ፡ ብዙኑ፡ ወወሲድዎ፡ ቤተ፡  
 ጿ፡ እምነሆመ፡ ወወደይዎ፡ ውስተ፡ ሣጹን፡ በ|ፍሥሐ፡ ዓቢዩ፡<sup>25</sup> እንዘ፡ B f. 176 b 1.  
 ደሴብሕዎ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ዘወሀብመ፡<sup>26</sup> ትዕግሥት፡ ወአልዐ፡ አሰረ፡

<sup>1</sup> B እሙንቱ፡      <sup>2</sup> B ወራሲዮን፡      <sup>3</sup> B ጽንዐ፡      <sup>4</sup> B ሚናስ፡ አዘዘ፡  
<sup>5</sup> B ወአውፀእ፡      <sup>6</sup> B ንሕነ፡      <sup>7</sup> B ደሲድዎ፡      <sup>8</sup> B ወንኤዘዘ፡  
<sup>9</sup> B omits this word.      <sup>10</sup> B ሥጋሁ፡ ካዕባ፡      <sup>11</sup> B ለቅዱስ፡  
<sup>12</sup> B ወሐዊርቱ፡      <sup>13</sup> B ደትሐሠይ፡      <sup>14</sup> B omits this word.  
<sup>15</sup> B የሐሲ፡      <sup>16</sup> B እመከራሁ፡ አላ፡      <sup>17</sup> B ዘአዘዘ፡      <sup>18</sup> B ወአንቀፅደወ፡  
<sup>19</sup> B ኢሐድገይ፡      <sup>20</sup> B ደሕጉሰይ፡      <sup>21</sup> B ወሃብከይ፡      <sup>22</sup> B ወደእኔይ፡  
<sup>23</sup> B ሰዓት፡      <sup>24</sup> B ውስተ፡ አንተ፡ መገነዝ፡      <sup>25</sup> B ዐቢይ፡  
<sup>26</sup> B ዘወሀብ፡

እሳት፡ ውስተ፡<sup>1</sup> ሥጋሁ፡፡ ወክመዝ፡ ተፈጸመ፡ ስምዑ፡ አመ፡ ሸወጅ፡ ለወርዥ፡ ጎዳር፡<sup>2</sup> ወሶረ፡ ነበ፡<sup>3</sup> መድኅኒኒ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ነጉሥ፡ ዘበአማን፡ ዘሎቶ፡ ስብሐት፡ ወክብር፡ ወክሂሎት፡<sup>4</sup> ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን፡፡ ወዘንቶ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ውብ፡<sup>5</sup> ሚናስ፡ ሰማዕት፡ ክቡር፡<sup>6</sup> ወፍጹም፡ በኅይሉ፡ ወቅሙ፡ ወሃይማኖቶ፡ ወሠናይ፡ ግዕዙ፡ እምንኡሱ፡<sup>7</sup> ወበውርዘቶ፡ የዋህ፡ መኃሪ፡ ወመፍቀሬ፡<sup>8</sup> ነዳደን፡ ወነግድ፡ ወእምድኅረ፡ ተፈጸመ፡ ስምዑ፡ በክመ፡ አቅደመ፡<sup>9</sup> | ነገረ፡ ወመጽኡ፡ ትዕይንት፡ ክመ፡<sup>10</sup> ደፅብእምሙ፡<sup>11</sup> | ለጅ፡ አህጉር፡ ወተሀውካት፡ ሀገር፡<sup>12</sup> ወርዕደተ፡ ወኢደያሚሃ፡ ወመጽኡ፡<sup>13</sup> ተእዛዝ፡ ክመ፡ ደምጽኡ፡ ትግደን፡ እምአፍራቂያ፡<sup>14</sup> ክመ፡ ደርድእምሙ፡ ለሰብእ፡ ምርዮጥ፡፡=፡፡

B f. 176 b 2.  
C f. 61 b 1.

ወፈቃድ፡ አትናሲስ፡ መስፍን፡ ደሰድ፡ ሥጋሁ፡ ለቅዱስ፡ ሚናስ፡ ምስሌሁ፡ ክመ፡ ደኩኖ፡ ረዳኤ፡ ወበባሕ፡፡<sup>15</sup> ወአርኒዎ፡ ኖነተ፡ ዘውስተቶ፡ ሥጋሁ፡ አብርሀ፡ ሎቶ፡ ዐቢይ፡ ብርሃን፡ ወኅብኦ፡ እምሰብእ፡ ክመ፡ ኢይክ (fol. 77 b 1) ለእም፡<sup>16</sup> ወሲዶቶ፡ ወአዕረጎ፡ ውስተ፡ ሐመር፡ ወሶሩ፡፡ ወሶብ፡ በጽሑ፡<sup>17</sup> በሐመር፡ ማእከለ፡ አፍራቂያ፡ ወእስክንድርያ፡<sup>18</sup> | ወአስተርአይምሙ፡ አራዊት፡ ወደነገፃና፡ እስመ፡ መደነገፃን፡<sup>19</sup> በውስተ፡ ባሕር፡ ወልፁል፡ ወነዊን፡ ክሳይሙ፡<sup>20</sup> ወገጾሙ፡ ክመ፡ ገጸ፡ ገመል፡ ወያውኑ፡ ክሳውዲሆሙ፡ ነበ፡ ሐመር፡ ክመ፡ ደንሥእምሙ፡ ለእለ፡ ውስቲቶ፡፡ ወወፅኡ፡ አነጻ፡ እሳት፡ እምሥጋሁ፡ ለቅዱስ፡ ሚናስ፡ ነበ፡ ገጾሙ፡ ወጉዮ፡<sup>21</sup> ወተኅብኡ፡ ውስተ፡ ባሕር፡፡ ወእምዘ፡ ገብኡ፡ ወካልኦሙ፡ ካዕብ፡ ውእቶ፡ አነፃ፡<sup>22</sup> እሳት፡፡ ወእምድኅሪሁሰ፡ ሰገዳ፡ ሎቶ፡ ወሶሩ፡ ወአንክሩ፡ ክሎሙ፡ እለ፡ ውስተ፡ ሐመር፡ ወእምኑ፡ በእግዚአብሔር፡፡=፡፡

B f. 177 a 1.

ወሰብሐኛዎ፡ ወአእኩትዎ፡<sup>23</sup> ለሚናስ፡ ሰማዕት፡ እስመ፡ ድነኑ፡ በሥጋሁ፡፡ | ወእምድኅረ፡ ኃሙስ፡ መዋዕል፡ በጽሑ፡ ሀገር፡ እለእክንድርያ፡ ወወፅኡ፡ እምህየ፡ ወአውፅኡ፡ ሥጋሁ፡ ለቅዱስ፡ ሚናስ፡ ሰማዕት፡<sup>24</sup> ምስሌሆሙ፡፡ C f. 61 b 2. ወዐርገ፡<sup>25</sup> ሐመር፡ እምእለ፡ እስክንድርያ፡ እስክ፡ ሐይቀ፡ ባሕር፡<sup>26</sup>

B f. 177 a 2.  
C f. 61 b 2.

<sup>1</sup> B ባዕለ፡      <sup>2</sup> B ለጎዳር፡      <sup>3</sup> B ነበ፡ እግዚእኒ፡      <sup>4</sup> B ወክሂል፡  
<sup>5</sup> B omits this word.      <sup>6</sup> B adds ውብ፡  
ወውርዘቶ፡      <sup>8</sup> B ወመሐሪ፡ መፍቀሬ፡ ነገድ፡ ወነዳደን፡      <sup>9</sup> B አቅደምኑ፡  
<sup>10</sup> B omits ክመ፡      <sup>11</sup> B ደጽብእምሙ፡ ለኅምስቲቶ፡      <sup>12</sup> B ሀገር፡ መርዮጥ፡  
<sup>13</sup> B ወወፅኡ፡      <sup>14</sup> B እምአፍራቂያ፡ ለእለ፡ ስክንድርያ፡      <sup>15</sup> B ወበባሕ፡  
<sup>16</sup> B ኢይክልዎ፡      <sup>17</sup> B በጽሑ፡ ማእከለ፡ ባሕር፡      <sup>18</sup> B አፍራቂያ፡  
ወእለ፡ ስክንድርያ፡      <sup>19</sup> B አራዊት፡ መደነገፃን፡ እምባሕር፡ ወነዊን፡  
ወልፁል፡      <sup>20</sup> B ክሳውዲሆሙ፡      <sup>21</sup> B ወጉደዮ፡      <sup>22</sup> B አነጻ፡ ዘእሳት፡  
<sup>23</sup> B ወአእኩትዎ፡      <sup>24</sup> B adds ብፁ፡      <sup>25</sup> B ወዐርገ፡  
<sup>26</sup> B omits this word.

መርዮ፡፡ ወተፋብኡ፡ በህዩ፡ ምስለ፡ ሐቅል፡<sup>1</sup> ወአስተብቀሑዕዎ፡ ለቅዱስ፡ ሚናስ፡ ወለሥጋሁ፡ ወሞእዎሙ፡ ለኃያላ፡<sup>2</sup> ወቀተልዎሙ፡ በሰእሶቹ፡ እስከ፡ በጽሑ፡ ሚስቱን፡ ዘደወለ፡ (fol. 77 b 2) መርዮ፡፡ ወሶበ፡ ፈቀደ፡ መስፍን፡ ደትመየ፡ አፍራቂይ፡<sup>3</sup> ወፈቀደ፡ ደሰድ፡ ሥጋሁ፡ ምስሌሁ፡ በህዩ፡ ወአፀዐንዎ፡<sup>4</sup> ደበ፡ ገመል፡ ወኢክህለ፡ ገመል፡<sup>5</sup> ደንስሐስ|ሕ፡ ወሚጥዎ፡ B f. 177 b 1. ንበ፡ ከልእ፡ ገመል፡ ወኢክህለ፡ አንቀልቅሎ፡=፡፡ ወከማሁ፡ አጽዓንዎ፡<sup>6</sup> ደበ፡ ኩሎሙ፡ አግማል፡ እለ፡ ምስሌሆሙ፡ ወአልበ፡ ዘክህለ፡ አንሥኦት፡=፡፡ ወተከዘ፡ አትናሲስ፡ መስፍን፡ ወአእመረ፡ ከመ፡ እምነበ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ኮነ፡ ወንደጎ፡ ህዩ፡=፡፡

ወገብረ፡ ሥዕሎ፡<sup>7</sup> ለቅዱስ፡ ሚናስ፡ ሰማዕት፡ ደበ፡ ዕፀ፡ በይእቲ፡ አርአደ፡ ዘይአምሮ፡ ከመ፡<sup>8</sup> ሐራ፡ ወሥዕሎሙ፡ ለአራዊት፡ እለ፡ ደመስሎ፡ ገመል፡<sup>9</sup> በታሕተ፡<sup>10</sup> እገሪሁ፡ ወሰገዱ፡<sup>11</sup> ሎቹ፡፡ ወአንበራ፡ ለይእቲ፡ ሥዕለ፡ ደበ፡ ሥጋሁ፡ ለቅዱስ፡ ሚናስ፡ በእነተ፡ ሥእሶቹ፡<sup>12</sup> ወወሰዳ፡ ምስሌሁ፡ ከመ፡ ትኩዮ፡ መድኃኒተ፡<sup>13</sup> ወገጸወነ፡ በባሕር፡ ወበጸብእ፡<sup>14</sup> ወገብረ፡ B f. 177 b 2. ለሥጋሁ፡ ሣፀነ፡ እምዕፀ፡ ሣገ፡ ዘኢይነቅዝ፡ ወኢይበላ፡፡ ወደፈዮ፡ በውስቱ፡<sup>15</sup> መክን፡፡ ወተመይጠ፡ ብሔር፡ ምስለ፡ ትዕይንቱ፡፡ ወአመ፡ ፈቀደ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ደርኢ፡ ተአምሪሁ፡ ወንደሎ፡ በሥጋሁ፡ ለቅዱስ፡ ሚናስ፡=፡፡

(fol. 78 a 1) ወሖረ፡<sup>16</sup> ወልድ፡ ሐንካስ፡ እነተ፡ ደእቲ፡ ብሔር፡ ወርእዩ፡<sup>17</sup> ማንተተ፡ ዘይበርሀ፡ ደበ፡ መቃብሪ፡ ለቅዱስ፡ ሚናስ፡<sup>18</sup> ሰማዕት፡ ወቀርበ፡ ንቤሁ፡ ወአ|ስመክ፡ ደቤሁ፡ ወሀለዉ፡<sup>19</sup> ህዩ፡ ሰብእ፡ ነጋድደን፡<sup>20</sup> ይቀውሙ፡ C f. 61 b 3. ወንሥዎ፡ አሱሁ፡ ሰወልድ፡<sup>21</sup> ወረከቦ፡ በህዩ፡ ወዘበጦ፡ ወቀነጸ፡ እንዘ፡ ደረውጽ፡ በቅድሚያሁ፡ ወሐይወ፡ | እገሪሁ፡ ወአንክሩ፡ ሰብእ፡ እለ፡ B f. 178 a 1. ሀለዉ፡<sup>21</sup> ህዩ፡ ወነገሮሙ፡ ወልድ፡ ዘርእዩ፡፡ ወከሠተ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አዕይንቲሆሙ፡ ወርእይዎ፡<sup>22</sup> ለማንተተ፡ እነተ፡ ትደድድ፡ ወአምኑ፡ ወወፀኡ፡ ኩሎሙ፡ እለ፡ ደወዩ፡ ዘዘ፡ ዚአሁ፡ ደዊሁ፡<sup>23</sup> እምሀገር፡ ንበ፡ መቀብሪሁ፡<sup>24</sup> ለአባ፡ ሚናስ፡ ወተፈወሱ፡ በንደለ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ወበስእሶቹ፡ ለቅዱስ፡ ሚናስ፡ ወኮነ፡<sup>25</sup> ዓቢዩ፡ ፍሥሐ፡ ወተሰምዐ፡ ዜናሁ፡ እመርዮ፡፡ ወኩሎሙ፡

<sup>1</sup> B ሐቅል፡ ወአስተብቀሑዕዎ፡    <sup>2</sup> B ለሐቅል፡    <sup>3</sup> B አፍራቂይ፡ ፈቀደ፡  
<sup>4</sup> B ወአጽዓንዎ፡    <sup>5</sup> B ገመሎ፡    <sup>6</sup> B አጽዓንዎ፡ ለኩሎሙ፡  
<sup>7</sup> B ስዕሎ፡ ደበ፡ ዕፀ፡ ለቅዱስ፡ ሚናስ፡ ሰማዕት፡    <sup>8</sup> B ከመ፡ ኮነ፡  
<sup>9</sup> B ገመሎ፡    <sup>10</sup> B ታሕተ፡    <sup>11</sup> B ሰገዱ፡    <sup>12</sup> B ስእሶቹ፡  
<sup>13</sup> B ድንነተ፡    <sup>14</sup> B ወበፀብእ፡    <sup>15</sup> B በወእቶ፡    <sup>16</sup> B ሖረ፡  
<sup>17</sup> B ወርእዩ፡    <sup>18</sup> B omits this word.    <sup>19</sup> B ወሀለዉ፡    <sup>20</sup> B ነገድ፡  
<sup>21</sup> B omits this word.    <sup>22</sup> B ወርእይዎ፡    <sup>23</sup> B ደዊ፡  
<sup>24</sup> B መቃብሪሁ፡ ለቅዱስ፡ አባ፡    <sup>25</sup> B ወበስእሶቹ፡ ኮነ፡

እለ: ህዩ: ሀለጢ:<sup>1</sup> ዘቦ: ደጭ: አው: ጋኔንሂ:<sup>2</sup> ወየሐውኑ: ወይትፈወሱ:<sup>3</sup>  
ወየሐይጢ:: ወአሚሃ: ንዝጸ: ንቦ: መቃብሪሁ:<sup>4</sup> ቤተ: ክርስቲያን:<sup>5</sup> ከመ:  
(fol. 78 a 2) ዘኃይመት:<sup>6</sup> ወሰቀሱ: ወስቲቱ: ማንተት: በአምሳለ: |

B f. 178 a 2.

ዘርእዩ:: ወይእት: ጊዜ: ደነድድ: መፀልተ:<sup>7</sup> ወሌሲተ: በቅብእ: ጥዑም::  
ወክሱ: ዘይሥአ:<sup>8</sup> እምቅብእ: ማንተት:<sup>9</sup> ወወሰይ: ርኑቅ:<sup>10</sup> ወቀብእ:  
ድውዩ: ደትፈወሱ:<sup>11</sup> እምዘኮኮ: ደጭ: ወተንገጸት:<sup>12</sup> ህዩ: ቤተ: ክርስቲያን:  
በስመ: ቅዱስ:<sup>13</sup> በመዋዕሊሁ: ለቅዱስ: አትናስዮስ: ሊቀ: ጳጳሳት: ዘእለ:  
እስክንድርይ: በርድኤቱ: ለታሕስ: ንጉሥ: መፍቀሬ: እግዚአብሔር: ከመ:  
ደትጋብኡ: ሕዝብ: ሃቤሁ:<sup>14</sup> ወይግብኑ: በዓለ: በውስቲታ:: ወሶቦ: ተፈጸመት:  
አስተጋብኦም: ቅዱስ: ሊቀ: ጳጳሳት: ለኤጲስ: ቆጶሳት: ወሰካህናት:<sup>15</sup>

C f. 62 a 1.  
B f. 178 b 1.

ወ| ወይዩ: ሥጋሁ: ለሚናስ: ለማዕት: ው|ስቲታ: ወቀይሳ: በመዋዕሊሁመ:  
ለታደስዮስ:<sup>16</sup> ቅዱስ: ንጉሥ:<sup>17</sup> ወአባ: ቴዎፍሎስ:<sup>18</sup> ሊቀ: ጳጳሳት: ተሐንጸት:<sup>19</sup>  
ቤተ: ክርስቲያን: ፀባይ: ቤተ:<sup>17</sup> በሰማ: ለማርያም:<sup>20</sup> በእንተ: ብዙን:<sup>21</sup>  
ሕዝብ: እለ: ደትጋብኡ: ንቦ: ቤተ: ክርስቲያን:<sup>22</sup> ዘቅዱስ: ሚናስ:  
ወበመዋዕሊሁ: ለዜናን:<sup>23</sup> ንጉሥ: መጽአ: ንቤሃ: ወንዝጸ: ሎቱ: በህዩ:  
አብደተ: ወአዘዘመ: ለትዕይንት: ደሕነጸ: አብደቲሆመ: በህዩ: ወማንደሪ:  
(fol. 78 b 1) ወፀባይተ: ብሔረ: ግብጽኒ: ላዝጸ: በህዩ:<sup>24</sup> ማንድሪሆመ:

B f. 178 b 2.

ክሱ:<sup>25</sup> ጊዜ: በእንተ: ብዙን: ተአምር: ዘያስተርኢ: በመዋዕሊሁ:  
ለጢሞቴዎስ: ሊቀ: ጳጳሳት: ተፈጸመ: በህዩ: ወፀባይ:<sup>26</sup> ሀገረ: ሠናይት:  
ወሰመደ: ዜናን:<sup>27</sup> ንጉሥ: ወንደረ: ህዩ: ብዙን: ሰብእ: ፈድፋይ::

ወአዘዘ: ንጉሥ: ጻድቅ: ደንብሩ: ህዩ: ጆወጃወ፤: ዕድ: መስተቃትላን:  
ይዕቅብዎ: እምኢሎፍሊ: ወዕቅብዎ:<sup>28</sup> ለቤተ: ክርስቲያን: ወለሕዝብ: እለ:  
ይመጽኡ: ንቤሃ: ወአዘዘ: ሲላዮመ: እምግብረ: መርዮጥ:: ወአዘዘ: ለቤተ:  
ክርስቲያን: ሲላዩ: ሥኑዐ: ለእለ: ደመጽኡ: ንቤሃ: ወላድውያንሂ:<sup>29</sup> አዘዘ:<sup>30</sup>  
ለለ: ንመት: ደሰዱ: ላቲ::=::

B f. 179 a 1.

ወነበረ:<sup>31</sup> እስከ: መዋዕሊሁ: ለህርቃልድስ:<sup>32</sup> ንጉሠ: ሮሜ: ዘ|እምኔሁ:

<sup>1</sup> B omits this word.    <sup>2</sup> B ጋኔ: ደሐውኑ:    <sup>3</sup> B ወይትፈወሱ:  
<sup>4</sup> B ወአሚሃ: ሐነጸ: ለዕለ: መቃብሩ:    <sup>5</sup> B omits this word.  
<sup>6</sup> B ንይመት:    <sup>7</sup> B ዘርእዩ: ወይነድድ: መፀልተ:    <sup>8</sup> B ዘሥአ:  
<sup>9</sup> B ማንተቱ:    <sup>10</sup> B ርኩቅ: ብሔረ:    <sup>11</sup> B ደትፈወሱ:  
<sup>12</sup> B ወተሐንጸት:    <sup>13</sup> B omits this word.    <sup>14</sup> B ንቤሃ:  
<sup>15</sup> B ወካህናት:    <sup>16</sup> B ለታደስዮስ:    <sup>17</sup> B omits this word.  
<sup>18</sup> B ቴፍሎስ:    <sup>19</sup> B adds በህዩ:    <sup>20</sup> B ለቅድስት: እግዚእት: ማርያም:  
<sup>21</sup> B ብዙን:    <sup>22</sup> B ክርስቲያን: ለቅዱስ:    <sup>23</sup> B ለዜናን:    <sup>24</sup> B ህዩ:  
ማንድሪሆመ:    <sup>25</sup> B ወይመጽኡ: ንቤሁ: በክሱ:    <sup>26</sup> B ፀባይ:  
<sup>27</sup> B ዜናን:    <sup>28</sup> B ወይዕቅብዎ:    <sup>29</sup> B omits ሂ    <sup>30</sup> B ወአዘዘ:  
<sup>31</sup> B ወነበረ: ከመዝ:    <sup>32</sup> B ለህርቃል:

መለኩ፡ ተንበላት፡ በብሔረ፡ ግብጽ፡ እንዘ፡ የሐውዳ፡ አሕዛብ፡ ነበ፡ ጮተ፡ ክርስቲያኑ፡ ለቅዱስ፡ ሰማዕት፡ እምቱላላ፡ ወያርሕ፡ ሎሙ፡ ተአምረ፡ C f. 62 a 2.  
 ወወሰዱ፡<sup>1</sup> ነቤሁ፡ ብፅዓተ፡ ወይገብር፡ ፈቃደሙ፡ ወየአተው፡<sup>2</sup> እንዘ፡ ይትፈሥሑ፡ ወይትንሠዩ፡<sup>3</sup> በእንተ፡ ዘገብረ፡ ሎሙ። እስመ፡ በጽሐ፡ ዜና፡ ተአምሪሁ፡ ወምግባሩ፡ ወንደሉ፡ ወስእሳቱ፡<sup>4</sup> ነበ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ እስከ፡ (fol. 78 b 2) አጽናፈ፡ በሐውርት፡ ወሰአሎ፡<sup>5</sup> ለእግዚአብሔር፡ አምላክነ፡ ወመድኅነነ፡ እየሱስ፡ ክርስቲስ፡ ከመ፡ ይዕቀብነ፡ ለክ፡<sup>6</sup> ወለዙሎሙ፡ ውሉደ፡ ጥምቀት፡ በስእለታ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ቅድስት፡ ማርያም፡ ድንገገ፡ B f. 179 a 2.  
 ወዙሎሙ፡ ቅዱሳን፡ ሰማዕት፡=።።<sup>7</sup>

ወተፈጸመ፡ ስምዑ፡ ለቅዱስ፡ ሰማዕት፡<sup>8</sup> ሚናስ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ይዕቀብነ፡ በጸሎቱ፡ ለዓለም፡<sup>9</sup> አሜን። ወተአምሪሁ፡ ለቅዱስ፡ አባ፡ ሚናስ፡ ተጸሐፈ፡ አመ፡ ፲ወ፮፡ ወአሚሃ፡<sup>9</sup> ይትነበብ፡ አመ፡ ፲ወ፰፡ ፊልጶስ፡ ሐዋርያ፡ ትንሥእ፡ እምነገረ፡ ሐዋርያት፡ ወታነብብ፡ አመ፡ ፲ወ፱፡ ለንዳር፡ በሰላመ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አሜን። ወሰነ፡ ይምሐረነ፡ በጸሎቱ፡ እለ፡ ነገብር፡ ፈቃድ፡ ወነገብር፡ ተዘከረ፡ ወፈደፈደሰ፡ ለጸሐፊሃ፡ ወአጽሐፊሃ፡ ይምሐረነ፡ በጸሎቱ፡ ለቅዱስ፡ ሰማዕት፡ ሚናስ፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን።=።

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<sup>1</sup> B ወይወስዱ፡      <sup>2</sup> B omits this word.      <sup>3</sup> B ወይትሐሠዩ፡  
 በዘ፡ ገብረ፡      <sup>4</sup> B ወንደሉ፡ ስእሳቱ፡      <sup>5</sup> B ንስአሎ፡      <sup>6</sup> B omits  
 this word.      <sup>7</sup> B ሰማዕት፡ ወቅዱሳን፡ አሜን። ተፈጸመ፡      <sup>8</sup> B omits  
 this word.      <sup>9</sup> B ወአሚሃ፡

## IX. ANTIPHON OF SAINT MÎNÂS

(Brit. Mus. MS. 16226, fol. 18 b)

መዋሥዕት፡ ዘሚናስ፡

- f. 18 b 1. Hḡwḡ፡ ብፁዓን ወሚናስ፡ ነገደ፡ በታዕከ፡ ሰማይ፡ ጽድቅ፡ ዘአብደረ፡  
 እምነ፡ ንዋይ፡ ገጸኒ፡ ብኑህ፡ ከመ፡ ፀሐይ፡፡ ወተመክሑ፡፡  
 Hḡḡ፡ ተፈሥሐ፡፡ ይቤሎ፡ ሲማኮስ፡ ለንጉሥ፡ ናሁኤ፡ ሚናስ፡ አባዩ፡  
 ከዊክ፡ ሐራ፡ ወይቤ፡ ብፁዕ፡ ሚናስ፡ አንሰ፡ ሐራሁ፡ ለክርስቲስ፡፡ ወበከመ፡  
 ለዕሌክ፡፡  
 ḡḡ፡ እባርኩ፡፡ ይቤሎ፡ ሚናስ፡ ለንጉሥ፡ ድሉ፡ ኃላፊ፡ ዘበምድር፡ አንሰ፡  
 ሐራሁ፡ ለክርስቲስ፡ ዘኢይመውት፡ ንጉሥ፡፡ ወኢይኒስሐ፡፡ ሞል፡ ይቤሎ፡  
 ሚናስ፡ ለንጉሥ፡ ድሉ፡ ኃላፊ፡ ዘበምድር፡ ይቤሎ፡ ሚናስ፡ ለንጉሥ፡ አንሰ፡
- f. 18 b 2. ሐራሁ፡ ለክርስቲስ፡ ዘኢይመውት፡ ንጉሥ፡፡  
 Hḡḡ፡ ብፁዕ፡ ብእሲ፡፡ ለብፁዕ፡ ሚናስ፡ ገጸ፡ ብኑህ፡ እምፀሐይ፡  
 በትኑ፡ ዘወርቅ፡ ጽሑፍ፡ በትኑ፡ በከመ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቲስ፡፡ ወትኃልቅ፡፡  
 Hḡḡ፡ ሰብሐም፡፡ ኃላፊተ፡ ምድረ፡ ዘመዘ፡፡ መድኃኒተ፡ ነፍሱ፡ ዘዴዝ፡  
 ዘኮክ፡ ሐራሁ፡ ለክርስቲስ፡ ብፁዕ፡ ሚናስ፡፡ ወይስተፈሥሐ፡፡  
 Hḡḡ፡ ናሁ፡ ሠናይ፡፡ ነገደ፡ ወሥሙር፡ ሐራሁ፡ ለክርስቲስ፡ በሰማይት፡  
 ውስተ፡ መጽሐፈ፡ ሕይወት፡ ተጽሕፈ፡ ተዘከተ፡፡ ወሕይወት፡፡  
 Hḡ፡ ዕቀባይ፡፡ ሚናስ፡ ነገደ፡ ሐራሁ፡ ለክርስቲስ፡ ዘበምድር፡ ክብረ፡  
 ዘመዘ፡ መንግሥተ፡ ክብር፡ ወረሰ፡፡ ወትፈሥሐት፡፡
- f. 19 a 1. Hḡ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ነገር፡፡ መደ፡ ትርሲተ፡ ኃዲ፡፡ ክብር፡ ዘበምድር፡  
 ብፁዕ፡ ሚናስ፡ አብደረ፡ ይኩን፡ ሐራ፡ ዘበሰማይት፡፡ ርዳእ፡፡  
 Hḡ፡ አፈቅረክ፡፡ ዝንቲስ፡ ሚናስ፡ ጸድቅ፡ ውእቱ፡ ዘመዘ፡ ክብረ፡  
 ዘበምድር፡ ዘበሰማይት፡ አብደረ፡፡ ለጻዊት፡ ወሰዘርኡ፡፡  
 Hḡ፡ እሰ፡ ተወክሉ፡፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቲስ፡ ነገረ፡ ለሚናስ፡ ወወሀቦ፡  
 መንግሥተ፡ ሰማይት፡ ዘኢይባሰ፡ ወኢይማስን፡፡ ሰላም፡ ላዕላ፡፡  
 Hḡ፡ ብፁዕ፡ ዘይሌሉ፡፡ አዳም፡ ቆሙ፡ ወሠናይ፡ ራእይ፡ ለብፁዕ፡ ሰማዕት፡  
 ክርስቲስ፡ ዘነሥኡ፡ አክሊላ፡ ስምዕ፡፡ እምይእኩ፡፡  
 Hḡ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ቦኡ፡፡ እሰ፡ መነገም፡ ወጸልዕም፡ ለዝንቲ፡ ዓለም፡ ኃላፊ፡  
 ቦኡ፡ መንግሥተ፡ ሰማይት፡ ነብ፡ ተርጎወ፡ ገነት፡፡ ወንገር፡ ስብሐቲክ፡፡

ዘ፻፫: እገዚእ: በስምኩ: ሚናስ: ክቡር: በታዕከ: ሰማይ: ዘምድር: f. 19 a 2.  
ክብረ: ዘመዘ: ክርስቶስ: ዘኡብደረ: ወርእየት: ዓይንዪ:

ዘ፻፳፯: ብፁዓን: እለ: ሐሙ: በእንተ: ስሙ: ቅዱሳን: ሰማዕት:  
መኒኖሙ: ዘንተ: ዓለም: ኡብዳርሙ: ከብካቦ: ዘበሰማይት: ሰላም:

ዕዘ: ጸሎ: ፍፍ: ጸራንኩ: ሚናስ: ነዲይ: በታዕከ: ሰማይ: ሰኣል:  
ወጸለ: በእንተእዘ መጠነ: ጸለይኩ:

ይባርክ: መዘሙረ: ጽባሕ: ዘመዘ: ክብረ: ዘበምድር: ዘበሰማይት:  
እክዶር: ሚናስ: ነዲይ: ሐራሁ: ለክርስቶስ: ሰማዕተ: ካ: በጽድቅ:

ምል: ዘመዘ: ክብረ: ዘበምድር: ዘበሰማይት: ኡብደረ: ሚናስ: ነዲይ:  
ሐራሁ: ለክርስቶስ: ሰማዕተ: ካ: በጽድቅ:





TERRA-COTTA FLASK FOR HOLY OIL FROM THE  
SHRINE OF SAINT MÈNA





I



2

TERRA-COITA FLASK FOR HOLY OIL FROM THE SHRINE OF SAINT MÈNA





ΓΟΥΚΟΡΑ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ  
 ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΥ ΕΤΕΡΟΥ  
 ΜΗΝΑΝ ΑΥΣΑΛΩ  
 ΤΑΛΗΝ ΤΟ ΚΗΝ ΑΥΕΛΟΔΑΜΗ  
 ΟΝΤΑ ΦΑΓΟΥΕΙΣ· ΕΤΤΟΥ  
 ΟΥΕΛΛΟ ΔΙΠΤΟΥ ΟΥΕΛΛΑ  
 ΔΟΥΑΡΑ· ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΝ  
 ΨΙΚΟΥΛΑ· ΤΑΡΟΝ ΜΙΡΑ  
 ΑΣΕΝΔΕ ΟΥΝΝΑΡΑ ΜΕΝ  
 ΝΑΛΩ· ΓΑΚ' ΕΝΔΕ' ΑΣ  
 ΙΚΕΝΔΕ· ΕΙΨΤΤΟΥ ΓΟΥΚ  
 ΤΑΩ ΔΕΙΚΟΝ ΚΟΛΛΟΕΝΟ



Β  
 ΝΑ· ΣΕΥΑΤΤΙΚΟΝ· ΙΚΟΝ  
 ΜΕΝΝΑΛΩ· ΕΝΣΕΕΝ  
 ΔΟΥΡΙΑΕΙΔΕΙΟΝ ΤΑΝ  
 ΔΕΛΜΑ ΜΑΪΚΑΡΙΣΝΑ·  
 ΤΑΝΣΡΠΑΔΟΥΔΑΥΩ  
 ΨΑΝΣΟΥΚΙΚΕΤΑΛΚΕΕΙ  
 ΟΝΜΕΙΡΑΤΟΥΕΛΩΕΙΣΕΑΝΑ·  
 ΜΕΔΔΟΥΝΗΝ ΤΑΕΙΣΟΥΑ·  
 ΤΟΥΕΙΣΟΥΑ· ΔΟΥΤΡΑΠΙ  
 ΣΟΥΛΩΚΙΕΡΙΚΛΩ· ΟΥ  
 ΚΡΙΣΟΥΛΩ ΟΥΕΛΛΟΕΙΟΝ·  
 ΜΑΝ'ΕΤΤΑ ΧΡΙΕΤΙΑΝΟΕ·  
 ΣΟΥΝΕΙΑΠΟΥΣΟΥΑΣΤΕΕΡΑΝ·  
 ΟΥΛΡΑ· ΤΩΕΙΣΟΥΕΕΝ·  
 ΣΤΕΟΥΜΠΝΑΝΑ ΜΑΡΕΩ  
 ΤΗΚΕΕΕΝΑ ΑΥΔΑΓΟΥΚΑ·



ΑΡΙΑ ΠΕΡΕΝΑ' ΑΚΕΡΝ  
 ΕΤΣΟΥ ΜΗΝΑΝ ΤΑΛΛ  
 ΑΝΔΟΥ ΤΡΑΠΙΣΟΥΛΑ  
 ΟΥΕΚΙΚΑ ΟΥΝΝΕΕ' ΕΛ  
 ΕΝΙΚΟΝΝΟ' ΑΕΙΘΝ  
 ΚΟΥΜΠΟΥ ΤΟΥΕΚΑΝ  
 ΤΕΛΟ ΟΥΝΝΟΥΕΝΙΚΑ  
 ΛΟ ΤΑΝΚΕΡΕΝΑ ΟΥ  
 ΤΟΥΑΔΡΕ' ΟΥΚΟΥΡΑ  
 ΕΛΑΥΤΑΚΟΝΝΟΝ  
 ΔΟΥ ΤΡΑΠΙΣΟΥΛΑ ΟΥ  
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 ΕΤΤΑΛΟΝΙΚΟΥΜΠΟΥΚ'  
 ΝΕΤΑ ΑΜΑΝΑΓΟΥΚ



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 ΒΙΤΕΝΙΑ· ΑΟΥΛΦΙΛΟ  
 ΖΕΝΙΤΗΤΑ ΔΟΔΡΑΜΕΔ  
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 ΤΛΕ· ΠΨΕΣΣΩ ΠΑ  
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 ΠΕΣΣΑ· ΕΑΔΕ ΕΛΛΙ



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 ΠΑΥΚΑ· ΟΥΚΡΙΔΕ  
 ΓΟΥΛΓΟΙΚΑ ΔΟΡΟΥΑΝ



ΝΟΝ· ΦΙΛΟ<sup>Η</sup>ΖΕΝΙΤΗΝ  
 ΓΑΔΔΩ ΙΚΙΕΝΑ· ΟΣΔΙΑ  
 ΛΟΝΙΚΟΥΜΠΟΥΚ' ΑΣΡΑ  
 ΕΙΣΟΥ ΕΡΙΚΑΝΕ ΟΥΕΙΔΛ  
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 ΣΕΥΕΛΑ ΠΙΕΝΓΑΜΕΝ·  
 ΗΝ' ΤΑΝ' ΟΥΚΙΡΑ ΑΣΡΕ  
 ΕΙΚΑ· ΠΙΕΣΕΝΑ ΤΑΝΕΛΑ  
 ΓΛΛΕ· ΕΤΟΤΑ ΕΝΚΟΥΜ  
 ΠΟΥΑ ΕΣΕΛΟ ΕΙΣΕΝΑ  
 ΕΑ· ΤΑΡΟΝ ΠΙΕΣΕΝΑ·  
 ΠΑΣΙΟ ΕΙΡΟΥ ΕΝΙΚΑ·



AN KIMNNAI: ETTOU  
 OYENNA EK KALENDE  
 KA: E ERYMHNANICE  
 CELA T O DANA SA  
 SI ALA LON PERENA  
 TO T P L M E . E A L E A W  
 T A C A I T A K A P P E C W  
 K A T I C O J O A . T A N I M  
 L O N T O K I C A T A K I C A  
 I C E N T P O N . I C A T I E T P  
 C N A . E O Y A E I T O Y C I C O N  
 O Y K P I T O Y L E D I C A D O P P O Y  
 A N N O N . A I T O Y O Y E A  
 A W I C I E A N A . A O Y I C K O  
 M A N A I T I N T A A A W  
 I C E N O O E E A N A . I C Y P I A



ΙΚΕΝ ΟΥΚ ΟΥΡ' ΕΙΝΗΝΟΝ·  
 ΑΙΟΤΤΑ ΔΙΠΤΑ ΔΙΟΚΕΔΑ  
 ΚΙΣΝΑ· ΚΟΡΕΙΣ ΕΤΝΙΑ·  
 ΜΑΝ ΔΙΠΙΜΕΙΟΝ ΠΑΡ  
 ΘΕΝ ΟΥΡΥΣ ΟΥΡΥΜΑΡΥ  
 ΑΝ ΚΕ ΔΕΛΛΟΓ ΟΝ ΔΑΡΑ·  
 ΤΑΡΙΑ ΕΙΘΝ ΤΟΡΑΚΙΟΝΑ·  
 ΚΟΡΕΙΣ ΕΤΝΙΑ· ΤΡΙΣΝ  
 ΟΝ ΚΙΣ ΕΝΝΟΚΟΝ ΟΥ ΕΙΘΝ·  
 ΙΣΤΑ ΔΙΟΚΕΔΑΝ ΟΝ ΚΑΕ  
 ΚΑ ΕΛΔΙΟ ΤΩ ΜΙΣΑΝΑ·  
 ΑΓΡΕΝ ΔΙΑΝΙΚΑ ΤΑ ΕΝ  
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 ΝΑΚΑ ΠΙΜΑΛΛΟΓ ΕΓΝΑ·  
 ΜΟΥΡ ΤΟΥ ΟΥΛΟΥ ΚΑ ΔΟΙΚΑ



ΙΑ  
 ΙΚΗ· ΤΑΙΣ ΚΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΔΩΝ  
 ΨΥΧΑΡΡΗΝ ΝΑΡΑ· ΤΑ  
 ΡΟΝ ΕΔΑΕΝ ΤΑΛΚΟΥΝ  
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 ΛΕ ΤΟΥ ΔΑΜΑ ΚΙΑ ΟΥΟΥΑ  
 ΠΕΣΕΝΑ· ΕΙΣ ΤΩ ΜΑΛΩ  
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 ΑΙΚΑ ΔΥΛΟΡΕ· ΕΑΤΕΙ ΚΑΥ  
 ΕΣΙ ΛΟΔΟΥΝ· ΕΣΕΟΥ ΜΗ  
 ΝΑΕΙΟΝ ΟΥΕΙ ΔΑΛΟΙ ΟΝ  
 ΔΑΤΕΣ ΕΝΑ ΤΑ ΔΣ ΛΕ·  
 ΜΗ ΚΑ ΕΔΔΑ ΔΥΑΡΡΕ  
 ΕΑΝ ΟΥ ΚΟΥΡΡΟ· ΕΣ ΔΟΥ  
 ΔΗΝ Η ΟΕΝ ΜΑΛΟ ΤΟΥΡΑ  
 ΕΙ· Ε ΤΕΙ ΜΟΝ ΜΑΝ ΟΣ



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ΙΚΑΔΟΥΜΑ ΤΑΚΟΥΡΛΑΩ  
 ΔΑΣΩΝ· ΚΟΥΜΠΟΥΕΝΤΑΝ  
 ΝΑΚΠΕΚ· ΔΟΥΜΑΛΔΟΥ  
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 ΤΟΥΣΚΟΝΟ· ΔΑΥΕΙΣΝΑ·  
 ΓΤΣΟΥΜΠΝΑΕΙΟΝ ΜΩΡ  
 ΤΔΩ ΑΙΩ ΔΟΥΤΡΑΤΙΚΑ  
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 ΜΑΤΑΚ' ΕΝΕΤΑΙΤΕΣΝΑ·  
 ΕΝΔΩΘΟΥΣΕ· ΕΝΚΑΛΩ  
 ΕΕΕ· ΓΤΣΟΥΜΠΝΑΕΙΟΝ  
 ΜΑΝΕΤΤΙΝΕ ΟΠΛΟΔΟΡΑ  
 ΚΙΑ· ΨΑΚΚΑΙΩΜΑ· Ο  
 ΔΙΚΡΕΝΑ· ΜΑΝΕΤΤΙΛΩΝ



ΙΓ  
 ΜΙΔΛΙΣΙΨΑΚΚΙΚΑΓΑ  
 ΛΙΣΝΑ· ΕΓΓΛΛΟΝ ΠΕΡ  
 ΕΝΑΨΑΔΔΛΛΕ· ΕΨΤΑ  
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 ΕΨΑ· ΕΝΔΟΥΤΡΑΠΙΤΟΥ  
 ΛΟΠΕΛΙΡΕΣΩ· ΕΨΚΑ  
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 ΟΚΕΣΩ· ΕΝΜΕΔΔΟΥΝΝ  
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 ΛΩΟΥΝΝΑΔΜΙΑΝΑ·  
 ΘΝΕΝΤΟΥΕΙΤΟΥΛ· ΕΙ  
 ΡΟΝ ΕΨΤΑΛΙΕΨΤΨΚ  
 ΕΙΤΕΣΩ ΕΝΣΑΠΙΕΤΟΥΝ



ΤΡΙΚΛΕΡΡΑΤΜΕ· ΕΝΚΑ  
 ΠΕΣΑΤΟΚΛΕΙΣΟΝ· ΔΟΥ  
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 ΤΑΚΡΑΣ ΕΣΣΑ· ΕΤΤΑ  
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 ΕΤΑ ΤΑΝ ΔΟΥ ΤΡΑΠΙΤΟΥ  
 ΛΟΠΕΛΙΡΟΝ· ΔΟΥ ΜΑΚ  
 ΚΟΝΟ ΚΕΛΛΩ ΟΥΝΝΙΣΑ  
 ΝΑ· ΜΕΛ ΔΟΥ ΝΗ ΤΑΕΙ  
 ΓΟΥΛ· ΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΕΙΤΟΥΛ·  
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 ΕΙΣΟΝ ΔΟΥ ΝΤΟΥ ΣΑΓΑΝ  
 ΚΑΚΚΙΚΑ ΟΥΝΝΟΥ ΣΑ·  
 ΤΑΝ ΤΑΣ ΕΚΟΝ ΟΚΙΣΑ  
 ΜΠΝΑ· ΕΣΣΑ ΤΑΔΑ  
 ΠΕΡΕΣ ΝΙΚΕ ΜΙ· ΤΑΝ ΜΕΛ  
 ΔΟΥ ΝΗ ΤΑΕΙ ΤΟΥ ΚΕ ΤΑ



IE

ΛΕΕΙΟΝ ΔΟΥΝ ΠΟΥ ΕΪΣΕΛ  
 ΛΥΘΥΝΝΟΥ ΕΑΝΑ ΓΑΚΑ  
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 ΤΑΝΚΟΚ ΚΑΝΕΝΟΥ ΚΡΙ  
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 ΕΟΥ ΜΗΝΑ ΚΕΡΕΛΩ ΔΟΡΑ  
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ΤΑΝΣΛΟΚΩ· ΕΙΚΑΡΙ  
 ΣΡΑΕΙΩΝ ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΣΑ  
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ΙΣ  
ΚΑ ΘΝ ΤΟ ΚΑ' ΕΝ ΘΝ  
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— ΔΩΠΗ : —  
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ΟΡΠΑ ΕΝΙΚΑΝ· ΕΛΛΕΕΝΙΚΑΝ·  
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 ΚΑ· ΑΛΕΣΙΝ ΟΥΕΤΡΑ ΚΕΣΙΚΑ  
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 ΙΚΕΝ ΒΡΑΝΤΟΥΚΑ ΙΣΣΕΝ



ΤΟΥ ΥΨΑΛΟΚΑΠΟΒΑΔΑ· ΠΑΤΗ  
 ΔΕ ΟΝ ΓΑΔΔΕ ΟΝ ΣΕΥΑΥΤΟΥ  
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 ΚΑΝ· ΕΛΛΕΕΝΙΚΑΝ ΠΑΡ  
 ΡΕΝ ΙΚΟΒΑ ΕΝΙΚΑΝ ΠΡ  
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 ΤΑΡΟΥ ΕΤΑΛΛΟΝ ΤΑΝ  
 Α ΕΛΛΟΚΟΥΡΑΝ ΕΤΑΝ  
 ΝΑ ΤΑΝ ΑΓΕΛΟΙΟΥΣ  
 ΣΙΛΟ ΡΟ· ΜΙΑ ΙΥΛ  
 ΠΡΙΜΕΝΑΚΕ ΠΑΡΤΑΚΑ



ΚΑ. ΤΑΝΚΑ  
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ΠΑΔΔΕΙΝΑΪ. ΚΟΡΕΙΚΑΕΤ  
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ΕΝ ΟΥΕΛ ΤΑΡ ΚΑΤΑΙΚΟ  
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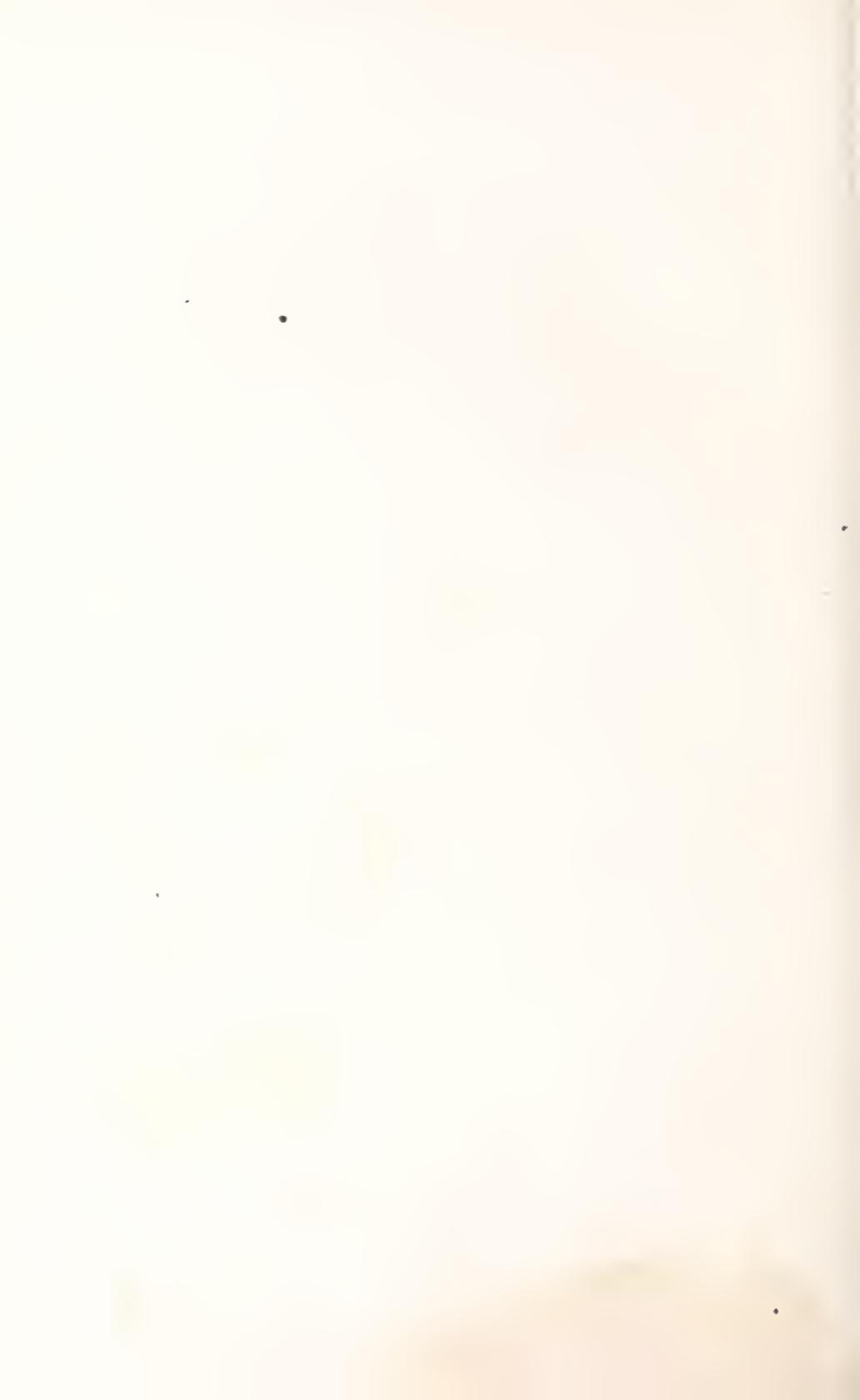
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